THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

DEPARTURE OF THE NEW EXPEDITION.

THE preparations for the new expedition to the East of the Jordan have occupied the Committee since the beginning of the year. The Secretary of State for War has granted the services of Lieutenants Conder and Mantell, of the Royal Engineers, for this special service. The Society are fortunate in securing for their new Survey the experience and skill of the officer who executed so large a part of the former work. Lieutenant Mantell is a young officer who has gained great distinction during his Woolwich course. Permission has been also accorded to Pensioners (formerly Sergeants) Black and Armstrong to serve upon the Survey, and to draw their pensions while in Palestine. Thus the New Survey will not only be carried out by the same officer who did most of the work on the western side of the Jordan, but the same two surveyors, Black and Armstrong, who measured the base line and began the triangulation in December 1871 will also begin the new work. At a meeting of the Committee called for the purpose on March 15, 1881, the officers received their final instructions, and started the same evening to carry out the next portion of the great work of the Society,—the Survey of the Holy Land. The two Surveyors followed a week later. The good wishes of all who read this announcement must be with them. They have begun a work which is full of peril and anxiety; it is for their friends at home to see that they are at least supplied with the necessary funds.

The total cost of the expedition, including the printing and circulation of Lieutenant Conder's reports, &c., will amount to about £3,500 or £4,000 a year. It has been proposed that the Honorary Secretaries of the various towns where there is a branch of the Society shall invite their people to raise a certain sum yearly. The whole amount is a comparatively small one, and there should be no difficulty in getting it together. The earlier in the year subscriptions are paid the more convenient it will be for the Committee. In the present appeal for assistance,

the Committee do not, as before, ask their friends to give in faith, because they have now their great and splendid map to show as an earnest of the future. What has been done for Western Palestine shall be done, if possible, for the East.

Letters and reports from Lieutenant Conder may be expected about the middle of April. In order to meet the wishes of a great many subscribers, paragraphs of intelligence will be sent to all the principal papers.

M. Clermont-Ganneau, who arrived in Jaffa in February, had proposed to visit Jerusalem immediately on his arrival in order to examine the newly found inscription in the Pool of Siloam; but he has unfortunately been laid up with an attack of fever, therefore we have not yet received any of his promised letters.

Professor Sayce, however, has sent the translation of part of it to the *Athenæum*. His reading will be found on p. 72, together with a *fac-simile* of the copy sent by Dr. Chaplin to the Committee.

A remarkable illustration of the destruction of ancient monuments which sets in with every improvement in Syria, is illustrated by the "note" from the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, published on p. 124. The Temple of Kades is now pulled down and destroyed. The ruins which have survived the violence of Romans, Jews, Christians, Saracens, and Crusaders, are gone to make foundations for a cotton store. The Temple and the sarcophagi are figured and described in the first volume of the "Memoirs."

Mr. William Dickson, F.R.S.E., has accepted the post of Honorary Secretary, with the Rev. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., and Mr. T. P. Johnston, for Edinburgh. Mr. W. J. Janson (the Close, Croydon), has accepted the post of Honorary Secretary at Croydon. The Rev. W. Walmsley has undertaken to act with the Rev. Canon Hornby at Bury.

It is matter of great regret that so many delays have occurred in the issue of the next edition of the map and of the Memoirs. As regards the former it will be delivered to those who are waiting for it in the course of a fortnight beginning about April 25th. The first volume of the Memoirs will be ready at the same time. It is also hoped to get out the next two volumes, namely, that of the Name Lists, and that of Special Papers by the end of May. The reduced map is also nearly completed, and the first edition will be ready for issue about the end of April. The price to subscribers, *by application to the Central Office only*, will be 6*s.* 6*d.* To the general public the price will be 12*s.* 6*d.*

The income of the fund from all sources from December 13, 1880, to March 16th, 1881, was £1,229 10*s.* 9*d.* The amount in the hands of the Committee at their meeting of the 15th, was £1,800 15*s.*

Mr. Saunders's "Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine" is now completed, and will be published immediately. Its history has been already told. Mr. Saunders was asked to write a pamphlet on the Physical Geography of Western Palestine from the Great Map. He undertook the work, which, it is unnecessary to explain, had been impossible before for want of such a map. But the pamphlet became a book, and the description has swollen into a detailed examination of the country, which is the most important result yet obtained from the Survey. It was intended to present the pamphlet to all those who asked for it. The book will be sent free, therefore, *to all who up to this date (April 4th) have asked for it, but to no others.*

It is most desirable on all accounts that the Map and Memoirs should have as wide a circulation as possible. The Subscribers to the Fund may greatly assist in this object by advising that they be placed in public libraries, school and college libraries, and institutions.

It it also greatly desired that *all* those whose contributions have enabled this great work to be completed, may have an opportunity of seeing it. Arrangements have been made with the Rev. James King, of Berwick, for explaining and lecturing on the Map and its uses. The Rev. Henry Geary is also ready to give one evening in every week to the Society, provided he be not invited to go too far from London. The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, Egham, has also kindly offered services in lecturing on the work of the Society.

A Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that these rest solely upon the credit of the respective authors, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee neither sanction nor adopt them.

MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

A very crowded meeting was held in the Masonic Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, February 22, on the Proposed Survey of Eastern Palestine. The Chair was taken by Sir James Gardiner Baird, and among those who were present were :—

The Rev. Dr. Main, Moderator of the Free Church; Principal Rainy, Bishop Cotterill, Rev. Dr. Teape, Rev. Dr. A. Thomson, Rev. Professor Blaikie, Rev. Dr. R. Macdonald, Rev. Dr. Taylor, Rev. Dr. Robertson, Rev. Professor Duns, Rev. Dr. Goold, Rev. Dr. Cazenove, Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Rev. Dr. Wylie, Rev. Alex. Whyte, M.A.; Rev. T. B. Johnstone; Rev. W. Turner, Rev. C. G. Scott, Rev. Thomas Brown, Professor Maclagan, Dr. Robert Young, Charles Cowan of Westerlea, John Scott Moncrieff, William Dickson, Surgeon-General Fraser, C.B.; John Rogerson, Merchiston Castle; John M'Candlish, John Miller of Leithen, Edward Caird of Finnart, James Sime, Craigmount; T. B. Johnston, Jown Cowan, Beeslack, William Ferguson of Kinmundy, W. F. Burnley, D. G. Thomson, John Drybrough, Colonel Young, R. P. Simpson, and others. There was a good attendance of the public.

Dr. Main having opened the meeting with prayer,

The CHAIRMAN intimated that apologies for absence had been received from Sir John D. Wauchope, Mr. Macfie of Dreghorn, Rev. Principal Cairns, Rev. Dr. Horatius Bonar, Professor Grainger Stewart, General Nepean Smith, Mr. Stuart Gray of Kinfauns, Mr. G. F. Barbour, and others.

Dr. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Palestine Exploration Fund, after reading a letter of apology for absence from Sir R. Christison, explained that the meeting had been convened by the Committee of the fund to enable Lieutenant Conder to explain what he had already done, and what he hoped to do in his future explorations. The fund had been successful in securing the services of the officers of the Royal Engineers in their Survey of Palestine, and how satisfactorily they had done their work they well knew. They now possessed a full and accurate map of Palestine—of that part lying to the west of the Jordan. In referring to Lieutenant Conder's share in that work and the eminent qualifications he possessed for it, Dr. Alexander remarked that he had been successful in identifying more than 100 places which were mentioned in the Bible, but of which hitherto we had known nothing but the names. He hoped Lieutenant Conder would receive a hearty encouragement to go forward with his work, and enter on his new enterprise, knowing that he had the sympathies of the Edinburgh public with him. (Applause.)

Lieutenant Conder, who was received with applause, said that he desired to say something in illustration of the work already done and the expectations they had for the future. The credentials he brought consisted of the map of Palestine before them. It took seven years in execution—four years in the field and three in England—and showed the whole of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba, west of the Jordan. It might appear to those who did not study the historical books of the Bible, neither interesting nor important that a large scale map of Palestine

should be made, but every student knew that there was a very great deal of minute topography in the Bible which it was most necessary to investigate, and the Survey afforded a guarantee that every corner of the country had been seen and explored by one of the officers. The object for which it was determined that the Survey should be undertaken was mainly this, that although many travellers had gone through the country they always followed the same route, and it had been desired that every part of the Land should be explored with equal care and caution. One result of what had already been done was, that they were now able to lay down the tribal boundaries west of the Jordan with an amount of accuracy which formerly would have been quite impossible. The comparative sizes of the districts allotted to each of the tribes had thus been calculated, and when the population was compared with the areas, they found that the ancient population of Palestine must have been much the same as now. The populous parts of the Bible were the populous parts still; the thinly-populated Bible districts were the sparsely-peopled districts now. Where the population had been thick, there were enormous quantities of ruins and ancient sites. They had identified 140 towns on the west of Palestine—towns in regard to which no question had been raised as to their identification. There were others which were still open for reconsideration—but as to all the important sites in the Bible there was now no doubt about them. 620 towns were mentioned in the Bible; 430 of these had been fixed, and of these 140 had been identified by the survey. To the east of the Jordan there were about 200 Bible sites, and of these only 70 were yet known. The work still to be overtaken was important, and though it was said to have a greater scientific interest and less Biblical interest than the west, there were many important Biblical incidents and places associated with the east—the flight of the Midianites, the flight of David from Jerusalem, the wood of Ephraim, Ashtaroth, Penuel (which took its name from the vision of Jacob), and many other Old Testament sites, of which they knew nothing as yet. The survey of the east of Jordan would include an area of 5,000 square miles; it was expected to occupy three seasons in the field, and probably two years to work out at home, so that in the course of five years they hoped to have the companion survey of Palestine east of the Jordan. But the question of topography was not the only one that came within the limits of their explorations. He referred to the probability of obtaining ancient inscriptions on stones, and a great deal of interest and light might be thrown on Bible times by a greater knowledge of the habits, customs, and language of the present inhabitants of the country. They had found during their past survey so much in common between the present peasantry and the ancient Canaanites that they expected even greater results to the east of Jordan, where the tribes were less under Jewish control.

The Rev. Alexander Whyte, Free St. George's, moved "that this meeting cordially approve of the resolution of the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee that the survey of Eastern Palestine be proceeded with without delay, and they resolve that efforts be made to increase the interest taken and the contributions to the fund in this city." Mr. Whyte pointed out that great and valuable results had already been gained, but that the work was little more than half finished, and it would be a shame to stop until all that country had been surveyed. He had been astonished to find that all the operations of the fund had been carried on at so small a cost as £3,000 a year; and he hoped that after this meeting

the contributions from Edinburgh would bulk more largely than they had ever done before.

The Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson seconded the motion, which was adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Cazenove moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to Lieutenant Conder for his interesting and instructive address, with a respectful expression of our earnest wishes for his welfare, safety, and success in the important work to which he has again been called. (Applause.)

Principal Rainy seconded the motion, urging the community of Edinburgh to take a practical and creditable interest in the work by giving pecuniary support to the Society, and enabling them in a suitable manner and with suitable energy to carry it through. It was a work in which every Christian of every name could and ought to join together as with one heart and one soul. (Applause.)

Lieutenant Conder having briefly replied, thanks were awarded, on the motion of Mr. John Miller, to Sir James Baird for presiding, and the meeting separated.

Other meetings have been held at Croydon, when the Rev. Henry Geary delivered an address on the new Map; and at Bolton, where the Rev. James King spoke on the general work of the Society. Meetings are also arranged for Romsey, Cardiff, Winchester, and other places.

THE INSCRIPTION AT THE POOL OF SILOAM.

In the month of August last year the Committee received from Jerusalem an announcement of the discovery of an inscription in the passage leading from the Pool of Siloam to the Virgin's Fountain. A squeeze accompanied the letter, but this was imperfect, and only a few letters here and there could be made out. The Committee immediately authorized Dr. Chaplin to draw upon them for such money as might be necessary to get the water lowered, and a better copy taken. This work was entrusted to Herr Schick, but it was not until January that he succeeded in procuring a copy of the inscription; this was not a squeeze, but a so-called *fac-simile*, in other words it had been copied from the rock by the light of a candle. Tracings were made of the *fac-simile* and sent to various scholars, but no one ventured from such slender materials to attempt a reading. Meanwhile M. Clermont-Ganneau, who had been appointed French Consul at Jaffa, started for that place early in February with the intention of proceeding immediately to Jerusalem for the examination of the inscription. Unfortunately he has been laid up with illness. Another and an improved transcript of the inscription arrived on the 1st of March, which was also copied and circulated, but with no result. This second copy is published with this number.

Professor Sayce, however, has been able to examine and copy the inscription on the spot, and has sent an important letter on the subject to the *Athenæum*, a portion of which (by permission of the proprietors) we extract.

I.

An accident which befel me in Cyprus has brought me unexpectedly to Jerusalem, and given me the opportunity of examining the inscription lately discovered in the conduit of the Pool of Siloam by Herr Schick. The inscription is the most important yet found in Palestine, as it belongs to the period of the kings, and is written in the oldest known characters of the Phœnician alphabet. As the readers of the *Athenæum* are already aware, the inscription is incised on the lower part of a tablet formed by cutting the rock wall of the conduit to the depth of about an inch. It is engraved on the east side of a rock-hewn passage, through which the water is conducted from the north into the Pool, and about twenty-five paces from its entrance.

I have paid two visits to the inscription, and succeeded in copying the greater portion of it. The task of copying, however, is a difficult one. The water flows past the foot of the inscription to a depth of over four

INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE POOL OF SILOAM.

inches, and in order to copy it I have had to sit in the water in a cramped position for more than an hour at a time, making out the letters, which are filled with silica, by the dim light of a candle. Had it not been for the kind offices of my companion, Mr. John Slater, who held the candle for me while I copied the characters, I should have found the work even more troublesome than I actually did.

The upper part of the tablet is smooth and plain, though a *graffito* of three lines is scratched upon one part of it. Whether this is in any intelligible system of writing I cannot say; some of the letters look like cursive Greek, but at the beginning of two of the lines the Arabic ciphers 1843 seem to occur. The lower part of the tablet is occupied by the ancient inscription, which consists of six lines of about thirty-five letters each. The letters are of a considerable size, and must originally have been very clear. Now, however, in consequence of the silex with which they are filled, the difficulty of obtaining sufficient light to see them, and the friction of the water, it is by no means easy to make them out. On the left side a fracture of the rock has caused the loss of several of the characters in the first three lines. Below the inscription comes an ornamental finish in the shape of two triangles, which rest upon their apices, with an angle between them similarly resting upon its apex.

The forms of the characters are identical with those of the Moabite Stone, and the words are similarly divided from one another by points. One of the characters, which occurs at least three times, is new to me; I conjecture that it may represent the missing *teth* of Mesha's inscription. The first line begins with the word נקבה(ה); then follow, after two words which I cannot read with certainty, ...(ר?)הנקבה בעב. In the second line I can make out only the words אל רעך.....שלש אמה .....(ט)נאש יפ [or ל[ה The third line ends with the word בירה. The fourth line begins with the word נקב; then come, after a few doubtful letters, ב(ר?)איש לקרת רעך גר(ט)ן, and the line ends with ויל[כו. The fifth line reads: מן המים מן המו.....אל הברכה בנאתי אלף אמה..... The sixth line has been so much injured by the friction of the water that the only words in it which I can make out with certainty are על ראש. I can find no words in the inscription for Jerusalem, Judah, or king (מלך), nor any proper names. But the forms of the letters prove that it cannot be later than the time of Hezekiah, and the "three cubits" mentioned in the second line, as well as the "thousand cubits" of line 5, will probably afford a clue to the meaning of the inscription. It is clear from the word בנאתי in the fifth line that the constructor of the conduit speaks in the first person.

February 7, 1881.

II.

The weather detained me at Jerusalem a day longer than I had intended to be there, and I accordingly paid another visit to the inscription about which I have already written. It was well that I did so, as it enabled me both to correct my previous copies and to fill in some of the lacunæ in them. In fact, I may say that I now have as perfect a copy of the inscription as can well be obtained; very little of it is missing, except where a fracture of the rock has occurred on the left hand side of the first three lines. I hope to place my copy, along with a translation of it, at the disposal of the Palestine Exploration Fund upon my return to England.

Meanwhile I must correct some of the statements I made in my previous letter. The more perfect copy I now possess shows that the inscription is not in Hebrew, as I imagined, but in Phœnician. The Phœnician relative pronoun אש occurs more than once, and there are other peculiarities in the language which indicate that the author was a native of the Phœnician coast. On the other hand, as I have already stated, the forms of most of the letters are identical with those of the Moabite Stone, though there are two, or perhaps three, which seem to be still more archaic than those of Mesha's inscription. I do not see, therefore, how the inscription can be dated so late as the time of Hezekiah and his successors, when the destruction of the kingdom of Israel renewed the intercourse between Judah and Phœnicia, which had been broken off by the revolt of the ten tribes. Consequently I have little hesitation in assigning it to the age of Solomon, or possibly of David (2 Sam. v. 11), when Phœnician workmen were employed in the construction of the public buildings at Jerusalem. In this case it will be the earliest specimen of Phœnician writing which we possess. Of course it is just possible that the inscription may be of yet older origin, and be composed in the dialect of the Jebusites; but this is in the highest degree improbable.

The inscription is merely a record by the master mason of the excavation of the conduit in which it is found, and which leads from Saint Mary's Pool to the Pool of Siloam, a distance of 586 yards. I was wrong in stating that it was written in the first person, as the word which I read בנאתי is really במאתי, the whole sentence running—

במאתי אלף אמה וילכו המים מן המוצא אל הברכה

"And the waters flowed from their outlet to the lower pool for a distance of a thousand cubits." The inscription will be of greater value to the topographer than to the historian, as it contains the names neither of royal nor of other personages. Mr. John Slater and myself attempted to walk up the conduit as far as its exit in Saint Mary's Pool, as had already been done by Robinson and others, since we thought that a second inscription might be discovered in some other part of it, now that the level of the

water running through the rocky channel has been so much reduced by Mr. Schick; but we were stopped half-way by the lowness of the roof, which would have obliged us to crawl on all fours through a deep deposit of soft mud. A. H. Sayce.

February 26, 1881.

EL-HARRAH.

By Cyril Graham.

In the few remarks which I wish to make on the subject of the proposed exploration of those regions which either lie beyond Jordan or eastwards to the north of it, I shall confine myself to the country with which I am best acquainted, the Haurân, old Bashan cut off from the great prairie which extends to the Euphrates, and the singular district known to the Arabs as el-Harrah, with the ridge of hills es-Safâh, which I believe never were visited by a European before me.

The summits of es-Safâh can be seen distinctly on a clear day from the Antilebanon, and were represented until 1857 as two conical *tells* or hills in the most recent of maps in the book of the then most recent of explorers, Professor Porter.

My journey revealed the fact that they were merely the highest points of a range which extended over many miles. Like the Lejah, indeed, it seems to be a duplicate of that wonderful upheaval; it is entirely volcanic, and I well remember Sir Roderick Murchison telling me that both the Lejah and the Safâh were monstrosities of Geology.

An account of my travels will be found in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" of 1858, and rough copies of the inscriptions to which I am going to allude presently, in a number of the "Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft," 1857, and in the annual volume of our own Royal Asiatic Society for 1859.

I do not suppose, nor do I wish, that the resumption of our work should commence with Bashan and its wide outlying countries. Gilead, and Moab, more accessible, should be at first thoroughly explored, and every relic, whether of architectural structure, or of tablets or inscriptions on the stones lying *in situ* should be carefully drawn and copied; and in the case of the latter it is of the utmost importance to philologists, and therefore to the object we have in view, to obtain rubbings or impressions from them. I need scarcely remind those who are as well acquainted as I am with the difficulty of a mere copying of unknown symbols, how tedious such a process is, and how uncertain must be the results after all the labour which has been bestowed upon it.

Amongst the places to which I think attention should be given in this southern section of our work, I pre-eminently place Kerak. Its history

from the times of the Judges, and its peculiar position, which defied the attacks of armed enemies, rendered it always a place of high strategical importance. The Crusaders considered its capture one of their greatest exploits; but neither the kings of Judah nor of Edom, the invaders from the other side of the desert who annexed all the country to the west of the Jordan, or Anushirvân, or the Saracens, or the Franks seem for any length of time to have been its absolute masters.

Still less is this the case with the present nominal owners of Moab. A firmân of the Sultan at Kerak is and has been for many a long day a worthless bit of paper, and I am ready to suppose that such as it is, the autonomy of Kerak is one of the oldest in the world. To gain access to this inhospitable crag, black mail must be paid, and to prosecute deliberate researches there, a liberal fund must always be at the disposal of our explorers. I do not mean to say that money should be as lavishly expended as it was by M. de Saulcy; but we must be prepared, in order to ensure the safety and success of our schemes, to advance a larger sum for Bakhshish than that which was found necessary in our attempts on this side Jordan.

2. Then come Pisgah and Nebo, the sites of which seem little doubtful. Good observations taken from the summit, whence Moses viewed the Promised Land, would naturally be of inestimable value.

3. Heshbon and the whole tract running up to Um el Jemâl, Beth Gamul, standing alone in the plain with its walls and its towers, and its streets, and its houses, with their stone doors and windows still nearly perfect.

This place, and numbers of others I could mention, such as Um er-Rumân, Um el-Kotein, were included in the Arabian kingdom of the Dynasty of el-Hareth, the founder of which, the Aretas of the Acts of the Apostles, was ruling there at the time of the conversion of St. Paul. And it has long been my opinion that it was in this then densely peopled Arabia, that the Apostle spent his two years in active work, preaching the Gospel, and not in solitude and contemplation in the Petræan Desert.* At all events, history tells us that almost from the beginning these el-Hareth were Christians; they are known to Arabian Chroniclers as the Christian Dynasty, and it is not too much to assume that a large number of the subjects may have adopted the creed of their masters. The Saracenic invasion, which drove everything before it, must have scattered inhabitants of these outlying and exposed districts. We have a valuable catalogue by an Arabian geographer of the names of places both to the east and west of Jordan, but the list ends with Bozrah and Salkah and the Jebel Haurân, so that it is not unlikely that Um el-Jemâl and its neighbouring towns, and indeed all that region south and east of Salkah, had become abandoned by the end of the 7th century. If this is so, the discovery which I made of crosses painted in red upon many of the houses in Um el-Jemâl may attest the fact of the introduction there of Christianity

* *Vide* some admirable remarks on this subject in Professor Porter's "Five years in Damascus."

at a very early period ; and indeed when I saw them I could not help saying to myself that perhaps I might have before me the marks of the first fruits of the labours of the greatest of Missionaries. However that may be, this branch of the whole subject connected with the Exploration of the East deserves our careful attention.

In the northern country Golan—el Jaulân—should be thoroughly ransacked. It is easily traversed, and hundreds of ruins, with the Semitic names attached, either to the *débris*, or if there are none, to the *tells*, which represent bygone towns, will yield us a fruitful harvest.

The Lejah Argob would employ our energies for, I must say, an indefinite period ; but while one party is examining this, the inverse of our pleasing ideal of an oasis, another might be collecting relics from the Jebel Haurân.

Were our funds unlimited, I could imagine another expedition working simultaneously with that to Bashan, in the districts to which I first referred, the Harrah and the Safâh. Nearly every stone in certain localities there is inscribed. At one place in which I passed the night, I might say that every stone was trying to tell a story of the past. The basaltic lumps or blocks which crop out of the soil, or with which it is absolutely overspread, are at intervals covered with rough pictures of beasts and other objects with a cursive character surrounding them. I never shall forget my first introduction to these curious emblems. After a ride chiefly by nights, for the days had to be spent in some hollow so as to escape the observation of two hostile tribes of Arabs, one to the north, the other to the south of us—running the gauntlet of them in fact—my attention, on rounding the southern extremity of es Safâh, was attracted by a stone which had scratched upon it the representation of a palm tree, and what was evidently a legend of some kind.

I searched in vain for other indications of a like nature, and resumed my way, "coasting" the long island of basalt. Presently I came to another solitary inscribed stone, and at an equal interval upon a third. I should here remark that a line, evidently artificial, in other words a clearing, existed through this wilderness of black boulders, and from its bearings I came to the conclusion, that I was possibly on the old highway which the world pursued between Bosrah and Tadmor in the palmy days of those great cities, and that my solitary stones were "mile-stones." Towards nightfall I reached a ruined town known to the nomads as Khirbet-el-Beida—the White Ruin.

The houses were of basalt as in the Haurân, with stone doors and windows, but it derived its name from a structure of white marble, or quasi marble, the calcareous limestone which is derived from the hills about Tadmor. It is called es-Serai, the Palace, and like everything else in that part of the world, its erection is ascribed by folklore to Chosroes, Anushirvân, or to Timurlenk !

The building was rapidly falling into decay, not from the assaults of man, but from generations and generations of summers and winters. A fine hunting scene was sculptured on one face of it, greyhounds

attacking a lion and a panther, which reminded me of an Assyrian tablet; and I found other stone lions about the place. The legend concerning the Kirbet-el-Beida I think I gave in the number quoted of the Royal Geographical Society.

To the north of this second Argob lies Seis or Seyis, where there is water; but for this very reason, I could not then approach it, for the wells were occupied by our enemies. I therefore struck eastwards and south-eastwards, and came, to my unexpressible delight, upon inscriptions without end. One of the most interesting spots which I visited is en-Nemâreh, where lived once upon a time, a lady and princess celebrated in Arab song as Nimret bint en-Namur, Tigress, daughter of the Tigers.

Although what I have related is on record, the materials are so old and so scattered, that I venture to think that I am doing service in recalling to the recollection of those who have read my papers, and in placing before those—the large majority of our members who have never heard of them or thought much perhaps of such outlying districts as the Harrah and the Safâh—the fact that after we shall have explored Moab, Gilead, Golan, and Bashan, another field of such an expanse will present itself as to tempt us in our enthusiasm to attack Tadmor, the Euphrates, and ultimately the Nejd.

The character on the stones represents one of those many cursive Semitic writings which are to be found in a form more or less varied anywhere between Yemen and the "Great River."

The story of Job, so wonderfully and graphically told, belongs to the Haurân. Local tradition makes him native and Sheikh of ancient Kenath, now Kenawât. His friend Bildad the Shuhite came from Suweidah, three or four hours' ride from that place; whilst the name of Teman still subsists, the probable birthplace or residence of Eliphaz the Temanite.

One of the greatest of geographers, the late Karl Ritter, who was one of the first to investigate my researches, went so far as to suggest to me, that the "Sabeans" mentioned in the book of Job might be the Arabs of the Safâh.

Since my time, Wetzstein, de Vogüé, Waddington, and a few others have thrown a certain amount of light on this north-eastern country.

Their works, especially those of M. de Vogüé, are of high value, and should be carefully consulted by any officer who on our behalf may enter those regions.

THE OLD CITY OF ADRAHA (DERA) AND THE ROMAN ROAD FROM GERASA TO BOSTRA.

By the President of Queen's College, Belfast.

A short extract from a journal written during a tour east of the Jordan, in the year 1874, may be interesting to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, in view of the proposed Survey of that country. So far as I know, no other traveller has followed my route from Gerasa to Dera and Bostra. It is on the very outskirts of settled habitation, and not always safe. My escort consisted of the Sheikh of Sûf, his brother and one or two retainers ; and we encountered no difficulty.

Leaving Gerasa, we rode over a low rocky ridge, thinly sprinkled with ilex, and then up a glen which gradually narrowed into a ravine. Traces of a Roman road were visible here and there cut in the rock. About five miles from Gerasa we reached the top of the pass, and had a splendid view southward, down the glen to the valley of the Jabbok, and north-east down another glen towards the great plain of Arabia. We entered the latter glen, still following the Roman road, having wooded ridges on each side, and occasionally a few patches of cultivated ground. We saw several ruins, but no modern habitations. The calls of shepherds, and the tinkling of bells were heard amid the hills, and a mounted Arab appeared at intervals on some commanding spot, as if watching our little caravan. As we descended, the glen opened, the forest became less dense, flocks and herds were seen on the pastures, and a few husbandmen were at work in the fields.

At length we emerged from Wady Warrân, for such is the name of this beautiful valley, and entered the open plain—a vast expanse of rich pasture land, extending on the east and south to the horizon, while on the west it rises by an easy slope to the wooded hills of Gilead. A short distance to our right lay the ruins of Kubab, a small village apparently once fortified ; or it may perhaps have been one of those walled caravanserais which one so frequently meets with on the borders of Arabia. Around its wells and watering-troughs were collected the vast flocks of the Bene Hassan Arabs, whose tents we saw in a circlet out on the plain. The ground along the foot, and on the lower slopes of the hills, is extensively cultivated by them.

We rode northward, still in the line of the old road, passing a Roman milestone beside a heap of ruins. Traces of villages, now deserted, were visible everywhere. Two, near the road, named Idhamah and Usîleh, were marked by large green mounds honeycombed with caves. I observed in this region that most of the villages are, at least in part, subterranean, the houses being excavated in the calcareous rock, with nothing above ground to mark their site except mounds of rubbish. One called Sâl,

beside which we encamped a fortnight later, when on our way to Gadara, had a population of some forty families, all Troglodytes.

Two hours' smart riding from Wady Warrâu brought us to Remtha, a populous village built on a little isolated hill in the midst of a cultivated plain of unsurpassed fertility. Here also were large numbers of caves, some used as dwellings, others as granaries. We now ascended a low bleak ridge, a spur from the Gilead range, and had from the top a magnificent view of the plain of Hauran, bounded on the east by the mountain range of Bashan, and on the north by Hermon. I was greatly struck with the change which had passed over that whole region since my previous visit in 1854 ; then most of it was desolate, now it was almost entirely under cultivation. Signs of industry and growing prosperity were everywhere visible. In a few minutes more we entered *Dera*, having been just seven hours and a-half in riding from Gerasa.

The ruins of this strange old city I estimated as about two miles in circuit. They cover a semicircle, round the arc of which sweeps Wady Zedy, a glen from 50 to 60 feet deep, with steep, and occasionally precipitous banks, and a little stream flowing through it. It is a singular fact that while the rock in the sides of the glen is either white limestone or conglomerate, the buildings are composed, like those in almost all the other towns of Bashan, of black basalt. The present village, which contained some 50 or 60 families at the time of my visit, occupies but a fraction of the old site. Most of the inhabited houses are modern ; built, however, of old materials, with flat stone roofs rudely constructed, and occasionally stone doors. There are many other houses, in fact long lines of them, evidently much more ancient, but now almost completely covered over by the accumulation of ruins and rubbish. Dera is in this respect in part a buried city. I entered one or two of those cave-like houses, and found them similar in plan and style to those I had seen in other old cities of Bashan—massive walls, constructed of roughly hewn blocks of basalt, stone doors of the same material, and roofs formed of long slabs closely laid together. Most of these houses were originally above ground, as is evident from the position of the doors ; but it is probable that there were other dwellings near them excavated in the soft rock. We found it dangerous riding over the site, as portions of the old roofs are apt to give way under the horses' feet.* Excavation here might throw some light on the architecture and antiquities of Bashan. But Dera is not the only town in which some of the old houses are now buried. I have seen houses in Bozrah, Suweideh, Nejran, and other places, entombed under heaps of ruins.

In the centre of the town is a large building with an open court

* When at Dera I heard nothing of an "underground city" such as is described by Wetzstein in his *Reisebericht*. There are certainly many caves, as there are at most other towns and villages in this region, which were used in part as dwellings, and in part as granaries. But Dera is one of those ancient sites which would well repay excavation.

surrounded by rude cloisters. On one side is an old church or mosque, the roof of which is supported by six ranges of short columns and piers, all evidently taken from more ancient structures. I saw on some of the stones and shafts, Phœnician letters rudely cut, as if masons' marks, and I also found some imperfect Greek inscriptions bearing dates of the Bostrian era.

At the western end of the town, is a large reservoir, partly hewn in the rock, and partly lined with fine masonry, apparently Roman. Beside it are the remains of baths. The water was brought to it by an aqueduct from the fountains of Dilly, about 15 miles to the north, and appears to have been conveyed across the glen through air-tight pipes or perforated stones. Another aqueduct, also apparently of Roman origin, brought water into the town from the east, but I did not follow it to its source. On Smith's map an aqueduct is represented as running from Dera across the plain by Remtha and Sâl towards Um Keis (Gadara). Of this I saw no traces whatever, and from the nature of the ground I do not believe an aqueduct could be carried along that line. In the bed of the glen to the east of the town is a well, beside which are some ancient remains, including a sarcophagus of basalt, ornamented with rude sculptures.

Dera I believe to be, not the Edrei of the Bible, the capital of the giant Og, but the Adraha of the Roman Itineraries, which is located by the Peutinger Tables, 16 miles from Capitolias, and 24 from Bostra. It became an episcopal city of the province of Arabia, and its bishop Uranius was present at the first Council of Constantinople, A.D. 337.

From Dera we took a straight course to Bostra, partly to trace the old Roman road, and partly to examine a section of the country which, so far as I knew, had been hitherto unexplored. We encountered no difficulty, although on the very outskirts of settled life. The Roman road was visible from the moment we crossed the glen, and we followed its course to the gate of Bostra, to which it runs in nearly a straight line. The ancient pavement is in places perfect; and the road crossed the Zedy by a Roman bridge of a single arch, in excellent preservation, with the ruts of chariot wheels several inches deep on its pavement. Villages, some in ruins, some partially inhabited, dotted the whole country to the right and left; and large sections of the soil were under cultivation. We saw husbandmen, and shepherds, and yokes of oxen in the fields; while away on the southern horizon we also saw the black tents of the Bedawin. We halted for a time at Ghusam, a large village with old and massive houses. The gate admitting to an ancient court-yard was still perfect. It was of stone and double, each leaf measuring 7 feet 2 inches high, 3 feet wide, and 8 inches thick; and it was so well balanced on its pivots above and below, that a man was able to shut and open it with ease.

Not the least interesting part of the Survey of Eastern Palestine will be the tracing of the Roman roads, and the exploration of the strange old cities. I venture to predict that some most remarkable discoveries will be made in the new Survey.

SUN WORSHIP IN SYRIA. By C. R. Conder, R.E.

The subject of the aboriginal superstition of the Syrian tribes is one of great interest but of some difficulty, as many remains and objects supposed by travellers to be relics of Sun-worship have been found to be very modern, while millstones and oil-rollers have often been mistaken for solar emblems, and ruined limekilns for Sun Temples.

Nevertheless we know for certain that the astronomical worship of Babylon, of the Hittites, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, was also the Canaanite creed: that Saturn or Moloch was worshipped as a Sun God by human sacrifices; that the licentious rites of Ashtoreth or the Venus Pandemos were observed even in Jerusalem; and that Thammuz, the Syrian Adonis, was annually mourned both on Lebanon and in Judea. We know that the shrines of these divinities, both at Jerusalem and also at Bethel and on Carmel, stood side by side with the altars of Jehovah; and we should therefore naturally expect that some traces of this idolatrous worship should still exist in Palestine.

Taking then in order the chief centres of Baal worship we must commence first with Bethlehem, where St. Jerome assures us the rites of Thammuz were practised in his own time. Here we still find a sacred grotto which early tradition (not however supported by anything in the four Gospels) has now consecrated as the cradle of Christ. It must not be forgotten that the Sacred Cave forms a very important feature of the ritual of Sun-worship, and the connection with the legend of Thammuz can hardly be accidental. Not only was the cave of Mithrah an essential feature of the rejoicings of the *Dies Natalis Invicti Solis*, but the Chapel of Moloch (mentioned by Kimchi in commenting on Mishna Sanhed vii, 7) seems to have been a similar subterranean sanctuary; while the idea of the sun issuing from a cave is traced back even earlier than the Babylonian times to the Accadian name for the winter solstice month, "the Cavern of the Dawn." The peculiar rites which are celebrated at the Latin Christmas ceremony at Bethlehem—like the Holy Fire issuing from the Cave-tomb at Jerusalem– have striking affinities with the ritual of Mithra; and we shall find that throughout Syria the Sacred Cave almost always occurs in connection with Sun Temples.

At Jerusalem itself the Temples of Ashtoreth and Chemosh (Venus and Saturn) stood on Olivet in Solomon's time; and the rounded summit of this mountain still supports a round building in a round court covering the sacred footprint now said to have been that of Christ. Beneath this sanctuary there is a sacred vault or cave called *Rahibat Bint Hasan* by the Arabs, the Cave of Huldah among the Jews, or of St. Pelagia among the Christians—in each case a female deity. The site thus chosen for the Ascension does not agree with the words of St. Luke (xxiv, 50) where the event is recorded as having occurred near Bethany; and it is perhaps more probable that the old Sun Temple of Chemosh stood on this hill-top. The

modern name of Olivet is *et Tôr*—a Chaldee word from a root cognate with Tzur ("a rock") and not to be confused with *Thôr*, a bull. Tor is the term applied to rounded or isolated hill-tops throughout Palestine, as for instance at Gerizim and Tabor, and most of these Tors are still, and have from remote antiquity been, sacred mountains. The sacred footprint is moreover not an invention of mediæval monks, but a common feature of Indian nature worship (see note below). In Jerusalem we have another sacred rock with a sacred footprint, namely, the Sakhrah with the *Kadam en Neby* or "prophet's footprint," which in the 12th century was called the footprint of Christ. Here also we find a sacred cave; and in the Aksa mosque is another footprint, namely the *Kadam Sidna 'Asia*, which has been described in its present position since 600 A.D.

North of Jerusalem we find the site now generally recognised as Nob; namely, the village of Sh'afât, where Jewish tradition states that the Tabernacle once stood (see Mishna Zebakhim xiv). The name Nob is radically identical with *Neby*, and also with Nebo the Assyrian Mercury. This deity was symbolised by a stone or a stone-heap, and he was one of the gods of the pre-Islamite Arabs, who worshipped stones (bœtuli or stone-heaps) as representing *Allah* and sacred trees (the' Asherah or "grove" of the Canaanites) as symbolic of *Allât* the female deity The worship of Mercury included the throwing of stones on a heap as mentioned in the Talmud (Sanhed vi, 7) and also by classic authors; and it is of interest to point out that there is a most remarkable natural monument such as was understood by the name *Zikr* or *Ed*—a high conical rock peak (as noticed under the title Khŭrbet es Som'a, "ruin of the heap," in the Memoir to sheet 17) immediately east of the road to Jerusalem at Sh'afât.

Bethel was also a centre of idolatrous worship side by side with the "School of the Prophets." The Altar of the Golden Calf stood here, as well as the cairn which Jacob raised and anointed. Colonel Wilson was, I believe, the first to point out the curious circle of stones immediately north of the village (*see* P. E. F. Photograph) which though much decayed reminds one irresistibly of the rude stone temples of our own country.

At Shiloh we find no marks of Sun worship, but the lofty mountain called *Tell 'Asûr* north of Bethel is no doubt the old Baal Hazor or "Baal of the enclosure," an ancient circle of stones now destroyed. Traces of a similar circle were observed south-east of Jenîn, and a rude stone monument described in the Memoir (sheet ix, *Deir Ghuzâleh*) has every appearance of being an ancient altar. A second altar west of the great plain at *Abu 'Amr* is built of undressed stones, and beside it is a sacred tree and tomb and a cave with steps leading down.

As we approach Galilee we find other centres on Tabor and Carmel. The ancient Tabor ("umbilicus") is the modern Jebel et Tôr; Josephus

NOTE.—I should mention that I am indebted for this piece of information to General Forlong, whose learned work on ancient religions is shortly to be published, and who has directed my attention to the question of Syrian idolatry generally, and given me much valuable assistance in understanding it.

calls it Itabyrium, and another mountain of that name in Rhodes was consecrated to Jupiter. It is thus perhaps that the scene of the Transfiguration has been shifted from its proper site near Banias to the sacred mountain of Tabor. On Carmel we find the altar of Baal beside the ruined altar of Jehovah in the time of Elijah. The great peak of el Mahrakah ("the place of Sacrifice") at the south-east end of Carmel is still revered by the Carmelite Monks and by the Druses of Esfia, and appears to have been the place visited by Julian the Apostate when he sacrificed to the God Carmel, who had no temple but only an altar. The peak is admirably adapted for a sanctuary of the Sun God, and stands up conspicuously, being visible from near Jaffa in fine weather. Beneath is a sacred tree beside a well.

It is very remarkable that the tomb of Joseph is flanked by two pillar-like altars, on which sacrifices are still offered by fire. Such pillar-like altars are known to have belonged to the ritual of sun or fire-worship, like the fire towers of the Guebres ; and it might be suggested that the extraordinary conical mounds at *Mâlhah* near Jerusalem, one of which is 30 feet high, and 20 feet diameter at the top, and even the great conical hillock of Tell el Fûl, structures for which no date and no good explanation has yet been offered, may be remains of ancient altars or sacred beacons. In Galilee we find the sacrifice of articles by fire still observed by the Jews at the tomb of Bar Jochai, on the side of Jebel *Jermûk*, the highest mountain of the district, and a sacred cave occurs close by. Of the rude cromlechs discovered by Lieutenant Kitchener in this district, one is called *Hajr ed Dumm*, "the stone of blood," no doubt from a tradition of sacrifices there offered.

Many sacred stones occur throughout the country, as the *Hajr Dabkan*, near Mar Saba, the traditions concerning which were collected by Mr. Drake, and the *Hajr Sidna 'Aisa* on the side of the conical mountain called Neby Duhy, and the *Hajâret en Nusâra*, or "Christian's Stone" above Tiberias, now connected with a monkish tradition. Nor must we forget the *Meshâhed* (bœtuli Edoth or "Witnesses") which pious pilgrims erect whenever they come within sight of a famous shrine. The Survey Cairns were occasionally thought to be sacred structures, as at Jeb'a, where the Dervîsh volunteered to "pray for the pillar in the day of our journey." Among the ancient Arabs such stones were at once the bodies of divinities, and also altars on which their victims were offered.

The great centre of sun worship was, however, apparently on Hermon, and the numerous temples which were built on this holy mountain, as late as the 2nd century A.D., were found by Colonel Warren to face the rising sun, seen to such advantage from the summit.

On the top of Hermon is a plateau, and from this rises a sort of peak or natural altar, round which a circle of masonry has been built, while a small pit is sunk in the top of the rock. There was no temple actually on the summit, though a small one remains outside the circle on the south. On the north is a sacred cave with a flight of steps. Other caves

lower down the mountain are used by the Druses for the retreat of their initiated, and the Druses are known to preserve the rites of the Gnostics, to whom sun worship was familiar.

At Tyre, on an isolated hillock, stands the fane of Neby M'ashûk, "the beloved of women," no doubt the ancient Adonis or Melkarth, and the tradition of this local sun god is preserved in the annual festival of St. Mekhlar, observed in this city, when his votaries descend to fish for the purple-shell or Chilzon, which is mythically connected with the history of the Tyrian Hercules, or Melkarth.

The great shrine of Venus and Adonis at Apheka, lately described by Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, was destroyed by Constantine ; but many practices belonging to this worship survive among the Nuseirîyeh and Ism'aileh, who worship the sun, moon, and elements in the northern Lebanon, and even human sacrifice is said by the Maronites to be one of their customs ; a relic of the human sacrifices of Baal, Moloch, or Saturn among the Canaanites and Phœnicians, and a certain indication of sun worship. In connection with this question, it is curious to note how persistent this tradition of secret human sacrifice is in the Levant. Gibbon describes the charges of this kind brought by pagans against the early Christians, and St. Epiphanius gives a detailed account of the "Perfect Passover" of the early Gnostics—the sacrifice of a child. The same charge was brought against the Templars in the 13th century, and it is yet a common imputation against the Jew in the East, as is shown by the following passage in one of the Sultan's proclamations quoted by Mr. Oliphant.

"We cannot permit the Jewish nation (whose innocence of the crime alleged against them is evident) to be vexed and tormented upon accusations which have not the least foundation in truth," viz., "that they were accustomed to sacrifice a human being, to make use of his blood at their feast of the Passover."

East of Jordan some traces of the worship of Ashtoreth should be found at her famous shrine. Mr. Oliphant has already described the curious pillar of Job, which had never been visited since the 5th century ; but I believe no explanation has been offered of the occurrence of solitary pillars, as for instance, north of Acre, and near Baalbek. There seems every probability that they are columns on which the hermits who imitated St. Simeon Stylites used to seat themselves—a practice much older than Christianity, and directly connected with the worship of the Sun's creative power. Many of these hermits lived in the 5th century in Syria, more especially near Aleppo, where are the ruins of the great Cathedral of St. Simeon. Similar practices are recognisable among the Hermits, who by contemplating their own stomachs (like the Therapeutæ, or the Indian Fakirs) at length beheld the sacred "Light of Tabor."

It is not too much to say that every isolated round or conical mountain top in Palestine, was once a seat of sun-worship. Thus at *Sheikh Iskander*, west of the Plain of Esdraelon, on a conical volcanic peak, we find the shrine of a prophet, who is described as contemporary with Abraham, and as having rams' horns like the sun-god Jupiter Ammon

Neby Duhy is a similar conical peak north-east of the last, and has a domed shrine on the top. The legend attached states that the bones of the saint were carried there by his dog, which reminds us of the Parsee veneration of dogs (the companions of Mithra), who to the horror of Greek writers were permitted to devour the bodies of the most noble among the Persian fire-worshippers.

The translation of bones or relics is a common Moslem tradition. Thus on Ebal we have the sacred shrine of the *'Amâd ed Dîn*, "pillar of the faith," and near it the sacred cave of *Sitti Islamîyeh*, who gives her name to the mountain, and whose bones were carried through the air to this spot from Damascus.

The remarkable mountain near Jericho with its natural conical top called *'Esh el Ghurâb*, or "Raven's Nest," is specially described in "Tent Work," chap. xiii, as having been supposed by the Crusaders to be the Mountain of the Temptation, a tradition still extant among the Bedawin. This curious but impossible legend may perhaps have its origin in an ancient sun-myth, connected with the hill, and adopted by the Byzantine Monks.

The conical form of the summit of the Kurn Sartabeh (the Jewish beacon station where a fire was lighted on the appearance of the new moon) is also very remarkable. It might almost be cited in favour of the identification of this place with the "witness" altar of Ed, which I proposed in 1874, and to which the main objection lies in the opinion of Josephus that Ed was East of Jordan.

The cone is 270 feet high, the sides sloping at about 35°. There is an oval surrounding the building on the summit, and formed by a mound of stones rudely heaped up. This measures 90 feet E. and W. by 260 N. and S. The central building is a platform or foundation built in 10 courses of large drafted stones (possibly crusading work). Towards the north of the platform we found traces of burning, showing that a beacon had once been lighted here. The sides of the cone are artificially trimmed from the natural rock. To the east is a terrace with caves, an aqueduct collected surface drainage and carried the water to rocky reservoirs just beneath the peak. The general effect is that of an ancient Sun Temple which has been converted later into a small fortress.

The shrines on every mountain, and under every green tree, have been already described in "Tent Work." The prophets called Belân, Balîân, and B'alîn, are perhaps the modern representatives of the ancient Baalim, and a male and female saint are constantly worshipped, as were Baal and Ashtoreth in shrines near to one another, many of which have sacred caves beneath.

Neby Turfini again possibly takes his name from the Teraphim, or "serpent images" such as those that Rachel stole from her father Laban.

Those who are interested in ancient superstitions may find this short enumeration of facts of some value, and the subject (in spite of the difficulty of collecting reliable information) is one which deserves to be further pursued.

NOTES ON DISPUTED POINTS.

House of Aphrah (בית לעפרה).—Mr. W. F. Birch treats this name (Micah i, 10) as that of a town, which he proposes to identify with *Beit 'Affeh.*

I would submit that there are several objections to this view. First, that there is no radical connection between the Hebrew and the Arabic. Secondly, that the occurrence of the Hebrew particle in the sentence (*Beth li Aphrah*) seems scarcely to agree with the supposition that we have to deal with a topographical name, Beth Aphrah. The verse contains a pun on the noun Aphrah and the verb עפר "to roll"; as does verse 14, on the name Achzib and the verb "to lie." The topographical value of the passage seems to be small, as the names Zaanan, etc., occur in other places, where the indications are better as to their relative positions. It may be noted that if Aphrah were really a town, a possible site might be found at the important ruin of Beit Fâr ("House of the Mouse") Fâr representing the ancient *Aphrah* ("Gazelle") with the loss of the initial guttural—of which there are occasional instances; but this is at best only a conjecture, as the identification with Beit 'Affeh must apparently also be considered.

Gath.—Mr. Trelawney Saunders adduces in support of his view that Gath was in the south of Philistia, the passage where Samuel is said to have recovered the cities of Israel from Ekron even unto Gath (1 Sam vii, 14); but against this it may be argued that Gath and Ekron occur frequently next one another in topographical lists.*

The question which is thus raised is one of considerable interest, namely, whether the Jews ever possessed any land in Philistia proper.

In the Book of Joshua, three of the five great Philistine cities (Ekron,

* Mr. Trelawney Saunders appears to think that there is a philological disagreement between Professor Palmer and myself. If this were the case, I should no doubt be wrong, but we both stated that the Arabic for Gath was *Jett;* and I believe Professor Palmer would be the last to urge that a place called *Jenneta* was Gath, unless strong reasons could be adduced to prove the corruption of the word.

Mr. Saunders is scarcely correct in stating that Shaaraim was a town of Simeon, and therefore objecting to S'aîreh. Shaaraim is attributed to Judah, and occurs with Adullam, Socoh, &c., in the Shephelah (Josh. xv, 36), in a position exactly agreeing with that of *S'aîreh.*

It is true that the name stands in one passage (1 Chron. iv, 31) for the Sharuhen of Simeon (Josh. xix, 6), but the nomenclature of the list in Chronicles is well known to be very corrupt.

The route Mr. Saunders indicates for the defeated Philistines is even longer than that which I wrongly supposed him to mean.

A pursuit and a return of more than 60 miles must have intervened before the Children of Israel got back to spoil the tents (1 Sam. xvii, 53). This would have occupied two or three days. It would have been remarkable if anything remained to be spoiled after this interval.

Ashdod, Gaza) are allotted, "with their villages," to Judah, but there is no enumeration of these villages, and the detailed enumeration of the towns of Judah is confined to the mountains and the Shephelah.

In the time of Joshua's first campaign there is no mention of the conquest of Ekron, Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, or Gath, or of any town in the *Sadeh* or plain of Philistia, save Eglon and Lachish, close to the Shephelah hills.

In Judges (i, 19) we read that Judah "drove out the inhabitants of the mountain but could not drive out the inhabitants of the Valley (Emek) because they had chariots of iron." Ekron, Ascalon, and Gaza were, however, conquered at this time (verse 18), though apparently soon after lost.

In the time of Rameses II, all Philistia appears to have been under Egyptian rule; and the Philistines were of Egyptian extraction. In the days of Samuel, Saul, and David, the contests with the Philistines occurred in the Shephelah and on the border of the Judean Mountains.

Josephus also makes use of the remarkable expression—"that mountain where the tribe of Judah ended"; and even Adullam is once spoken of (1 Sam. xxii, 5) as beyond the border of Judah. The frontier of Rehoboam was drawn from Zorah and Azekah to Gath, including the fortified towns of Adullam, Lachish, Adoram, Mareshah, and Shocho. Thus it is clear that Philistia was excluded from his kingdom, and by the time of Ahaz the Shephelah also had been entirely lost, while the expeditions of the Hasmoneans into Philistia were mere raids, with only temporary results.

It would seem then that Philistia never was conquered by Judah, and if this be the case, the cities recovered to Judah by Samuel between Gath and Ekron would probably be those enumerated in Joshua xv, 41, on the border between Philistia and the Shephelah, and near the site of Samuel's victory in the Valley of Sorek. The recovery is noted as the result of that victory not as entailing a further campaign (c.f. Ant. VI, 2, 3); and if the above conclusion be accepted, the passage quoted by Mr. Trelawney Saunders does not place Gath in the south.

Mr. Saunders suggests that "accepting Lieutenant Conder's interpretation of Abu Gheith as Father of Rain, the designation suggests an attribute of mystic power, and so may be carried back to some incoherent traditional remembrance of Goliah."

According to Freytag's Dictionary my translation is correct. I am not aware of any tradition connecting Goliah with the rain, but there are many traditions of Moslem Derwîshes who were, and are, supposed to be able to give or withhold rain, and the name is probably quite modern. Inquiries on the spot might be interesting.

Megiddo.—The suggestion that the name *Mukutta'* may be a corruption of Megiddo is open to the objection that only the M is common to the two names, and, which is more important, that the *T* in the Arabic word is the Hebrew ט or strong *t*, which is not interchangeable with the *Daleth*.

Mr. Trelawney Saunders also follows Robinson in an assumption which

seems to be contrary to two passages in Scripture, viz., in supposing that the stream which springs near Lejjûn is the ancient Kishon, and thus unconsciously begs the question of the identity of the "Waters of Megiddo" with the River Kishon.

Now Barak encamped on Tabor before defeating Sisera (Judges iv, 12), and the Canaanites advanced on that position. "I will *draw unto thee* to the River Kishon, Sisera" (verse 7). In the Psalms also (Psalm lxxxiii, 9) we read "as to Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Kishon: which perished at Endor," which is close to Tabor on the south.

It thus seems clear that the name Kishon applied not to the affluent from Lejjûn, but to the stream from the springs of el Mujahîyeh ("the place of bursting forth") west of Tabor.

Mr. Saunders says, "it seems impossible to separate Megiddo from the Kishon." If this were the case, then the site of Lejjûn could not be that of Megiddo according to the biblical definition of the Kishon.

Robinson's identification of Megiddo with Lejjûn rests mainly on the proximity of Taanach, a town often mentioned with Megiddo in the Bible. It cannot be too clearly stated that the only connection between the names Legio (Lejjûn) and Megiddo is found in Jerome's paraphrase of the term Bikath Megiddon by the "Campus Legionis." Megiddo is mentioned with Bethshean Jezreel and other places in the Jordan Valley (separate towns of the tribe of Manasseh) as well as with Taanach, and there is no real foundation for the assumption that the Valley of Megiddon was the Plain of Esdraelon, for the term *Bikath* (rendered Valley in the A. V.) is also used in the Bible of the Jordan Valley (Deut. xxxiv, 3; Zech. xii, 11), and on the edge of the broad Bikath of Bethshan the important ruin of *Mujedda'* with its springs and streams now stands.

Mr. Henderson has quoted in defence of my theory, the translation given by Brugsch of a passage in the "Travels of a Mohar" (for the quotation of the Poem of Pentaur as including the statement that Megiddo was near Bethshean appears to be an oversight. The Pentaur Epic refers to the wars of Rameses Miamun against the Hittites). This translation is more favourable than that of Chabas, and was not previously known to me.

In support of the *Mujedda'* site, another argument may be drawn from the account of the flight of Ahaziah from Jezreel (2 Kings ix, 27), "he fled in the direction of Beth-hag-gan" and was slain "at Maaleh Gur, which is by (or near) Ibleam, and he fled to Megiddo and died there."

Dr. Thomson many years since proposed to recognise Ibleam in the ruined site of *Yebla* which gives its name to a long valley south-east of Tabor. On the plain east of Tabor also, fifteen miles from Jezreel, is the ruined village of Beit Jenn ("house of the garden"), exactly representing the Hebrew Beth-hag-gan, rendered "garden house" in the A. V., and the road from Jezreel past Tabor and past the head of Wâdy Yebla, towards Beit Jenn, leads over a rolling plateau where a chariot might easily be driven. After crossing the bed of the Jezreel Valley it ascends gradually towards en N'aûrah (Anaharath), and on this *Maaleh* or ascent stands the ruin *Kâra*, a word derived from the

root *Kûr*, which is cognate to *Jûr* or *Gûr*, all having the meaning of "hollow." This ruin, possibly representing Gur, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles north-east from Jezreel, and five miles west of the ruin *Yebla*. We thus appear to recover the names Gur Ibleam and Beth-hag-gan in connection with some other north-east of Jezreel, and this is much in favour of the Mujedda' site, because an easy chariot road leads from *Kûra* south-east, crossing the upper part of W. Jalûd, and thence skirting the foot of Gilboa to Mujedda'.

I have hazarded the suggestion that the Kings of Judah used the Jordan Valley as their highway to the north; that, instead of toiling over the hostile mountains of Ephraim they marched up to assist the Israelite monarchs by the chariot road from Jericho, and advanced to oppose Necho by the same route. Megiddo would thus seem to have been their outpost on this route, and Ahaziah's retreat to it is intelligible, whereas the reason of his flying first south to Jenîn, and then back north to Lejjûn has never appeared intelligible.

In order to render this interesting subject more clear, the following points are recapitulated as those which seem most to require consideration.

1. There is no known connection between the ruin Lejjûn (Legio) and the site of Megiddo, either by name, by measured distance, or by tradition.

2. It is purely an assumption that the plain of Esdraelon is the Valley of Megiddon.

3. It is an assumption which contradicts Scripture that the stream from Lejjûn is the ancient Kishon.

4. It is a pure assumption (and a very misleading one) that the "Waters of Megiddo" were the Kishon river.

5. The mention of Taanach in connection with Megiddo should not outweigh the notice of Bethshean, Ibleam, Endor, Zartanah and other places east of Jezreel, also mentioned with Megiddo (see *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January*, 1877, p. 16).

6. The Egyptian records, so far as they elucidate the subject, are favourable to the Mujedda' site.

7. The ruin Mujedda' is ancient, well watered, situated in a plain on an important high-road; and here only has a name closely approaching to the Hebrew Megiddo been found.

8. The topography of Ahaziah's flight may be explained in easy accordance with the situation of Mujedda'.

I am far from supposing this question to be settled, but it seems that the *Mujedda'* site has claims to attention which recommend it to such careful critics as Mr. Henderson has proved himself to be; and that it should not be condemned merely because the assumptions of Dr. Robinson are taken as of equal value with his sounder arguments. The Lejjûn site rests on a more flimsy argument than perhaps that which fixes any other important biblical site, for we have positively not a single statement of the identity of Legio with Megiddo by any ancient authority. It is a vague conjecture, and not an identification at all.

Gibeah of Saul. In this case also we have to contend with an assumption of Dr. Robinson's. There is no connection either by name or distance between Tell el Fûl (probaby a corruption of the Hebrew Ophel or "tumulus") and Gibeah; and after many visits to the site I entirely failed to find any traces of a town or village. *Tell el Fûl* is an isolated monument (probably a beacon) and not a city at all.

In writing on this question Mr. Birch concludes that the Gibeah where the Levite's concubine was killed was not Geba of Benjamin, but a distinct city. It is, however, worthy of notice that a confusion is here introduced by the authorised version which in two cases reads Gibeah where the Hebrew has Geba. This has already been pointed out by Mr. Grove :—

"That they may do when they come to Gibeah (לגבע) of Benjamin, according to all the folly they have wrought in Israel (Judges xx, 10), and again :—

"The liers in wait came forth out of their places, even out of the meadows of Gibeah (ממערה גבע literally "from the cave of Geba," Judges xx, 33); this shows that linguistically no distinction was made between Gibeah and Geba, just as the word is now spelt indifferently *Jeba'* and *Jeba'h.*

Josephus places Gabaoth Saule at the Valley of Thorns; and if he refers to Wâdy Suweinît ("valley of the little thorn tree"), this favours the identification with *Jeba'.*

That Gibeah of Saul was a district having its capital at Geba would seem to follow from the following passages :—

"The uttermost part of Gibeah, under a pomegranate tree which is in Migron" (1 Sam. xiv, 2), Migron being near Ai, probably a district name or that of a natural feature (c.f. Isaiah x, 28).

"Saul abode in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah" (1 Sam. xxii, 6) Ramah being south of W. Suweinît and west of Jeba'.

C. R. C.

NEW IDENTIFICATIONS.

Beit Aula has generally been identified with Bethul, but is too far in the hills. The suggestion of Beit Leyi for Bethul leaves Beit Aula for Holon (Joshua xv, 51), which fits far better topographically.

Zephathah (2 Chron. xiv, 10) is probably the present *Sâfieh. See* foot note to the note on Kadesh Barnea.

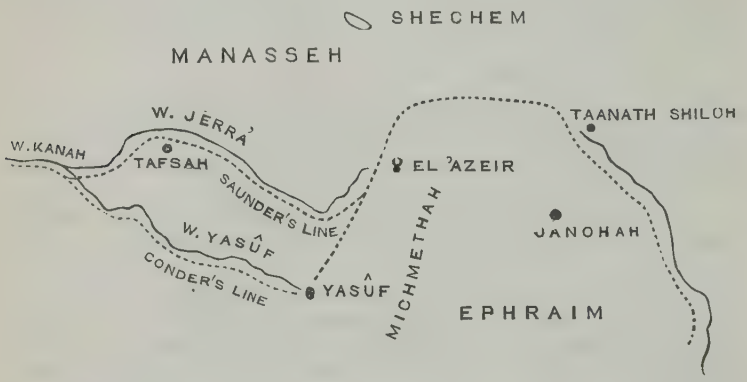
C. R. C.

THE BOUNDARY OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH.

In writing on this subject, Mr. Trelawney Saunders accepts in the main the line proposed by Mr. Kerr (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 41) which I have adopted in the "Handbook to the Bible" (p. 264), being convinced of the justness of Mr. Kerr's arguments.

Mr. Saunders, however, proposes a slight modification near the Mukhnah, carrying the line some two miles further north than I should do.

Mr. Saunders also proposes two new identifications, one for Asher, the other for En Tappuah (Joshua xvii, 7); both of these appear to be open to very serious objections, and had Mr. Saunders been in possession of facts recorded in the Survey Memoirs he would, I think, have hesitated in proposing these identifications.



As regards Asher, Mr. Saunders says (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 226)—

"On turning to the new map to discover Asher-ham-Michmethah that lieth before Shechem, there will be found the ruin El Azeir (Asher) in the Plain of Mukhnah (Michmethah) just outside Shechem, on the high-road to Jerusalem, and on the south side of Wâdy Kânah. The identification of Micmethah with the Plain of Mukhnah is suggested by Lieutenant Conder in his 'Handbook to the Bible,' p. 264, but he takes no notice of el Azeir except to insert it on the map."

So far, however, is this from being the case, that a careful account of el 'Azeir will be found in the "Survey Memoirs," while the place is described in "Tent Work" (chap. ii, p. 42, new edition) and mentioned in the "Handbook to the Bible," p. 256. The word is the common corruption of the Hebrew proper name Eleazar, and has only the R in common with Asher. The site is the well known tomb of Eleazar, the high-priest, son of Aaron, venerated by Jew, Samaritan, Moslem, and Christian alike, and mentioned by travellers from a very early period. A few ruins surround the monument, but the place is not the site of a town. It may also be noted that it is not in sight of Shechem at all, as implied in the Bible respecting Michmethah.

Such being the case, there is no reason to enter into the question whether the site would suit Asher, or whether Mr. Saunders is justified in making the word an adjective—preceding as it does the article. Gesenius renders Micmethah "hiding place," and it is not impossible that the word Asher is a copyist's error, reduplicating the word אשל ("which") that follows Micmethah in the Hebrew.

The second suggestion of Mr. Trelawney Saunders refers to En Tappuah, which he proposes as identical with the ruin *Tafsah*. The identification tempted me greatly when first considering this question, but the philological objection is too strong, for the introduction of the *Sîn* (representing the Hebrew Samech) could not well be accounted for. There is, moreover, a more probable identification for this site, namely, Tiphsah (2 Kings xv, 16), noticed in connection with Tirzah and Samaria, as rebelling against Menahem, for it is impossible to suppose that in this passage the Thapsacus on Euphrates is intended.

Mr. Trelawney Saunders argues that the main line of W. Jerra' should be considered the Brook Kanah rather than the affluent W. Yasûf, but this must remain a question of opinion, because the name Kânah only now applies to the lower part of the great valley below the confluence of these two heads.

The important passage respecting this question (Joshua xvii, 7) reads thus :—

"The border went along on the south ("right hand" in A.V.) unto Yeshebi En Tappuah," rendered "Iassib and the spring Taphthoth" in the LXX. The A.V. rendering, "unto the inhabitants of En Tappuah," is so unusual and unmeaning, that it is only natural to conclude that the LXX translators were right in treating *Yesheb* as a proper name.

Now the confusion of F and B is a well known Samaritan vulgarism, and there is nothing impossible therefore in the identification of Yesheb with Yasûf, especially as there are five springs in the vicinity, one of which may have been the ancient En Tappuah or "apple spring."

It appears to me *necessary* to carry the border thus far south, because of the special definition "on the south" as above noticed : for Mr. Trelawney Saunders' line runs almost east from Taanath Shiloh, as will be seen on the detached diagram.

This interesting question might perhaps be still settled by a very careful investigation of the names of springs in the two valleys ; for ancient names still stick occasionally to the springs. Inquiries have, however, been made in 1877 without result.

12*th November*, 1880. C. R. C.

MIZPEH.

Palestine is the place for panics. Seized with sudden terror, Philistines, Syrians, Romans, in turn left their fortifications and fled ; now at the rustling of a few leaves even Britons forsake the choicest identifications. Let those who stay behind divide the spoil.

Dr. Robinson was "inclined to regard Neby Samwîl as the probable site of Mizpeh," where Samuel prayed and fought; judged Israel and proclaimed Saul king. It was exceedingly delightful thus to connect the most conspicuous land-mark of Southern Palestine with that grand Hebrew prophet. Afterwards an unaccountable doubt supervened and then, like a flock of sheep, away went half-a-dozen shrewd writers leaving the enthusiastic ones wavering, nor did the stampede reach only to Sha'fât or Scopus, but even beyond Beth-car.

Probably we may not rally the fugitives, but at all events let us try to re-occupy Mizpeh.

The following conditions have to be satisfied :—

(1.) Mizpeh was *in Benjamin*. Josh. xviii, 25, 26, "Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth, and Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah." In Neh. iii, 7, the men of Gibeon and Mizpah are classed together. Both these indications very well suit Neby Samwîl, about a mile south of Gibeon.

(2.) The name (signifying a "watchtower") implies that it was situated *on an elevated spot*. Here Neby Samwîl has no worthy rival.

(3.) It was fortified along with Geba by King Asa, apparently to protect his northern frontier against the kingdom of Israel.

Lieut. Conder ("Tent Work," ii, 119) says of Neby Samwîl :—"The very difficult approach, the magnificent panoramic view, and the numerous springs, would have indicated the place as a fitting position for a fortress, flanking the two main north roads to Jerusalem."

(4.) It *must* be visible from Jerusalem according to 1 Macc. iii, 46, "The Israelites came to Maspha *over against* (κατέναντι) Jerusalem; for in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel" (evidently identical with the Mizpeh of 1 Sam. vii, 6, 16; x, 17). As in the New Testament we have in Mark xi, 2, κατέναντι answering to ἀπέναντι in Matt. xxi, 2, in the expression "the village *over against* you," we conclude the words are interchangeable. As again in 1 Macc. vi, 32, Judas is said to have pitched in Bethzacharias (ἀπέναντι) "*over against* the king's camp" at Bethsura, seventy furlongs distant (Jos. Ant. xii, ix, 4), there is no force in the objection that κατέναντι in 1 Macc. iii, 46, is not satisfied by the position of Neby Samwîl; for this hill is but forty furlongs from Jerusalem and also in sight. This (4) condition is most important, since while admitting such positions as Scopus, Sh'afât, and even Tuleil el Fûl, it excludes (I believe) all the district to the north-west of Jerusalem except Neby Samwîl. This must be borne in mind in considering the next point.

(5.) The story of Gedaliah (Jer. xli). It is urged against Neby Samwîl that as Ishmael went out of Mizpeh to meet the fourscore pilgrims going to the house of the Lord, therefore that city must have been close to the great north road from Jerusalem, and so could not have been at Neby Samwîl. From such an eminence, however, a band of pilgrims like this would have been visible a long way off, so as to give Ishmael time to meet them; and next Josephus ventures to say (probably with truth) that they were bringing gifts to Gedaliah.

(6.) Ishmael carrying captive the people in Mizpah departs "to go over (what?—the Jordan?) to the Ammonites;" the loyal Jews, however, went to fight with him, "and found him by the great waters that are in Gibeon." Some writers are pleased to adopt the version of Josephus, who foolishly substitutes Hebron for Gibeon. But I would here ask two questions :— (1.) Who would think of going from Gibeon to Rabbath Ammon round by the southern end of the Dead Sea? Such a route is almost as absurd as the theory which sends Jacob's body to Hebron round by the north end of that sea, through taking "beyond Jordan" in Gen. l, 10, in a different sense from the same Hebrew words (A.V. "on the other side Jordan") in Deut. xi. 30, *see* "Land and the Book," p. 580; "Handbook," p. 238. (2.) And next, why are the Hebrew and LXX readings to be rejected in favour of such an inaccurate writer as Josephus?

Ishmael in going from Mizpah to the Ammonites doubtless went by a route which *naturally* led him near the waters which are on the eastern side of Gibeon. Accordingly we conclude that neither Sh'afât nor Scopus, nor yet Tuleil el Fûl, could have been Mizpah, since the way from each of these places to the Ammonites would lead him directly *away from* Gibeon. As therefore the only place suiting both the conditions 3, 4, 5, and 6 is Neby Samwîl, we unhesitatingly assert that the only spot where Mizpeh could possibly have been was on the hill now called Neby Samwîl.

A few other points may be noticed :—

A. Asa made a (great) pit at Mizpah (Jer. xli, 9) and Dr. Robinson observes that the rock at Neby Samwîl is *soft*. It is quite possible that by searching this underground cistern might even now be found.

B. It is a natural and (I believe) correct assumption to take this Mizpeh to be the one mentioned in Judg. xx. Jephtha's victory and the expression "Shiloh in the land of Canaan" are in the Bible Dict. used as points in favour of the eastern Mizpeh. Jephtha, however, was born *after* the events in Judg. xx, and the same expressionis used in Josh. xxii, 9, while in both cases Gilead is also named.

C. Lieutenant Conder's explanation ("Handbook," p. 277) that Nob and Mizpeh are identical, becomes impossible, as Colonel Wilson has shown that Nob could not have been at Neby Samwîl. In the same place the notion is broached that the Tabernacle was at Mizpeh, because the words "before the Lord" are used in 1 Sam. vii, 6. The expression, however, does not necessarily imply this. David's covenant with Jonathan in the wood of Ziph and his anointing at Hebron were also made "before the Lord," but surely neither the Tabernacle nor the Ark was there at the time.

W. F. Birch.

THE CITY AND TOMB OF DAVID.

VALUABLE as is Lieutenant Conder's Survey work, he is, I believe, radically wrong on Jerusalem. Theories proposed by him, however, may not improbably be accepted by some, as well-established facts, so that it is necessary for me to point out how his fire (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 228) utterly fails to touch my position, viz., that the City of David was on Ophel (so called) *i.e.*, on the eastern hill south of the Temple. I will take his shots one by one.

1. I objected to his position for the Tomb of David, as being *beyond the limits of Zion.* He replies (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 228), "I am not aware of any direct statement in the Bible to the effect that the Kings were buried on Zion. The Kings were buried *in* the City of David." But the Bible twice states that the City of David was Zion. (1 Kings viii, 1 ; 2 Chron. v, 2. "The City of David which *is* Zion"). I have already stated (168) that "in the historical passages of the Bible the stronghold of Zion and Zion are identically the same place—both are said to be the City of David." But to prevent further mistakes on this point the passages shall be here given fully.

2 Sam. v, 7.	"The stronghold of Zion : the same *is*—	THE CITY OF DAVID."
„ „ 9.	"David dwelt in the fort and called it—	
1 Chron. xi, 5.	"The castle of Zion, which is—	
„ „ 7.	"David dwelt in the castle ; therefore they called it—	

These four passages with the two given above, make it the A B C of Jerusalem topography, that, Zion, and the stronghold (of Zion) and the City of David are all one and the same place. If this does not tally with Josephus, then so much the worse for that arch-error-monger.

2. Lieutenant Conder thinks it "improbable that the City of David was on Ophel, for several reasons," viz. : (1.) That this identification *is contrary to the account of Josephus ;* but as he does not give particulars, it is not clear to what he refers. (2.) That the wall on Ophel was not *one enclosing*, but one *outside* the City of David. (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14.) What is the point of this? Surely it was quite possible to build a second wall *outside* the enclosing wall of the City of David ; for it is quite unnecessary to suppose that the City of David occupied the whole of the Ophel spur.

(3.) That Millo was according to the LXX the same as Akra, and was *in* the City of David, so that I must either place Akra on Ophel or discard this identification of the LXX. That the Akra of the Maccabees and Josephus was *solely* and *entirely* on Ophel is just what I have all along been earnestly contending for (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 185 ; 1880, p. 168). The City of David being fortified was called the Akra (1 Macc. i, 33), and so Millo itself being a (considerable ?) part of the former might easily in the LXX be translated "Akra."

3. I may reply that when Josephus is at variance with the Bible, the *only satisfactory plan* is to discard him altogether, and not make a

compromise between truth and error, from which have arisen almost all the difficulties about Jerusalem.

4. Josiah was buried *in his own sepulchre* (2 Kings xxiii, 30), and yet *in the sepulchres of his fathers.* (2 Chron. xxxv, 24.) Therefore Asa and Ahaziah equally with Jehoshaphat and others may have been buried in the sepulchres of the Kings, although each was buried *in his own sepulchre.* N.B.—To speak more exactly: Asa was "buried in his own *sepulchres* (plural) which he had made for himself in the City of David" (2 Chron. xvi, 14). If Lieutenant Conder had carefully verified this reference of his, he would have altered the sight for the next shot, and so not gone so wide of the mark.

5. Of course the fact that the Royal tombs called (Neh. iii, 16) "the sepulchres of David" existed on Ophel is the very centre of my position. But the case of Asa just cited shows that it is only wasting powder and shot to argue that "as the word is used in the *plural* (לִבְרֵי), and David himself can only have occupied one sepulchre, we are forced to understand this expression as elliptical, and as meaning "sepulchres of the House of David." Clinging to an unsound theory, like blindly following Josephus, has evidently *forced* Lieutenant Conder into strange expedients, (1) to overlook "sepulchres" in his reference to Asa, (2) to find a difficulty in the Hebrew plural, so as (3) to make "the sepulchres of David" to be necessarily elliptical for "the sepulchres of the House of David," even while Asa made sepulchres (plural) for himself.

The words of Nehemiah must be taken to mean the place where David was buried, unless some better argument than this can be alleged against the identification (see below, 9).

6. As the Royal sepulchres on Ophel are apparently those of David, since no elliptical expression is required, I take them to be identical with "the Royal cemetery (or rather catacombs) in the city of David," since the *cemetery* itself is described as "the *field* of the burial which *belonged* to the Kings" (2 Chron. xxvi, 23). In this were (1) the system of catacombs, called "the sepulchres of David," or "of the (good) Kings," (2) the sepulchre of Uzziah, (3) the sepulchres of Jehoram, Joash, and Ahaz. I consider, however, that Lieutenant Conder is quite correct in maintaining that Uzziah was buried on Ophel, and when I add a reference which he has omitted, viz., 2 Kings, xv, 7, "they buried him (*i.e.* Azariah = Uzziah) with his fathers in the City of David,"—then from Lieutenant Conder's premise, that "Uzziah was buried on Ophel," followed by the Bible's premise that "Uzziah was buried in the City of David," we draw the inevitable logical conclusion—that "the City of David must have been on Ophel," and my position is proved, and his own theory disproved by Lieutenant Conder himself. Leaving him to revise his premise we come to the next point.

7. Solomon's palace no doubt stood on Ophel (so called). It is not however clear to me whether or not it embraced the "House of David (2 Chron. viii, 11) within the City of David, which house I am inclined to think was called *Millo.*"

The two passages quoted by Lieutenant Conder certainly do not show that it was not in the City of David, for they both refer, not to Solomon's palace, but *to the house which he built for Pharaoh's daughter.* (1 Kings vii, 8.) "His house . . . Solomon made also an house for Pharaoh's daughter."

8. Be it however that Solomon's palace was altogether outside the City of David, yet how is the conclusion to be drawn that "the tombs in the City of David cannot therefore, it would seem, have existed on the Ophel Spur"? This can only be on the groundless assumption that Solomon's palace occupied so much of Ophel as to leave no room for the City of David, while we know next to nothing of the size of either place.

9. "The House of David" (Neh. xii, 37) I believe to be the place where he lived, but on the admission that it means his *tomb*, Lieutenant Conder must again beg the point that it is an elliptical expression for the sepulchres of the house (?=sons) of David, if we are to understand that, though it was the tomb of David, he was not buried in it.

10. If by "in the Fort of Zion, in the City of David," Lieutenant Conder means *which was in the city of David*, this is an error, as the two are identical as shown by 1, in spite of Josephus.

11. Lieutenant Conder ("Handbook," 335) takes Gihon in the valley (Nachal) to be En-rogel, how then does he propose to draw a wall "westwards to" it instead of on its western side (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14)?

12. I found it difficult (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 167) in regard to the House of David, to imagine how Lieutenant Conder could avoid placing it on Ophel; for I never anticipated the dash which would make it to be a place with which David had nothing to do either alive or dead. The next two shots seem enough to burst the gun. Let me show the fallacies.

13. "Solomon's palace was on Ophel. It was not in the City of David. Therefore the City of David was not on Ophel." Answer. There was room on Ophel both for Solomon's palace and for the City of David, just as there is room in Westminster for the Abbey and for the Houses of Parliament.

14. "Manasseh built a wall on Ophel. This wall was not in the City of David. Therefore the City of David was not on Ophel." Answer. The walls of the City of David were not so low down the Ophel hill as to leave no room for building another wall outside them.

15. "Millo was in the City of David. Millo, according to the Jews (who? Josephus or LXX?) was Akra. Therefore Millo was not Ophel." (*on Ophel*). I have admitted that Millo might fairly be called Akra by the LXX, but as I challenge any one to show that either 1 Macc. or Josephus places Akra anywhere else than on Ophel, I cannot for a moment admit the conclusion, "Therefore Millo was not (*on*) Ophel." The true position of the City of David is discussed in another paper.

My theory, whether *ingenious* or not, I believe to be true, and only for the sake of *truth* have I thus mercilessly pursued a friend through all the

errors which an excessive veneration of Josephus has chiefly produced, Strange as it may seem, Sion, Moriah, Akra, Ophel and Millo—are all names applied to one ridge. Be it observed, however, that the Hebrew Zion of the historical books is identical with the Greek Akra; Millo is part of Sion *i.e.*, of Akra; Ophel really was not the name of a *hill*, but of a certain part of it, a locality apparently near the south-east corner of the Haram; while lastly Mount Moriah, the part of the eastern hill on which the Temple stood—is only mentioned *once* in the Bible, for the term commonly used by the Jews was "the Mountain of the House," which is equivalent to the Mount Zion of the first book of the Maccabees. The only other decided hill which I believe could fairly be reckoned into the Jerusalem of Nehemiah was the south-west hill, that of the upper city, and this is called in the Bible "the hill (Gibeah) of Jerusalem" (Isaiah, x, 32; see also xxxi, 4; lit. "against the hill").

W. F. Birch.

IT IS REQUIRED TO FIND THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF DAVID.

(1.) It is here assumed (as I think it may be demonstrated) that the City of David was on the eastern hill, south of the Temple. The following points are also assumed (though all are not at present capable of proof, while all (to me) seem highly probable) viz., that:—

(2.) The Tomb was *within* the City of David, facing from west to south.

(3.) The pool of Siloah (Neh. iii, 15) was in the Tyropæon between the south wall of the Haram and the present (so called) pool of Siloam.

(4.) The stairs of the City of David (Neh. iii, 15) were near the pool and ascended some part of the west side of Ophel (so called).

(5.) The entrance to the Tomb was in a vertical face of rock, as is common in Jewish tombs.

(6.) The entrance was not covered over when Herod built the S. W. corner of the Haram Area.

(7.) It was in the great malaki bed, 40 feet thick, mentioned by Colonel Wilson.

To economise labour and expense it is desirable to ascertain how the malaki bed lies south of the Haram. Excavation must *decide* this; but excavation may be guided by the following considerations.

Colonel Wilson (Ordnance Notes) says (31) the upper beds of missæ dip 10° to east, and 15° to south.

(34 p.) The rock has a dip of 12° in a direction 85° east of north.

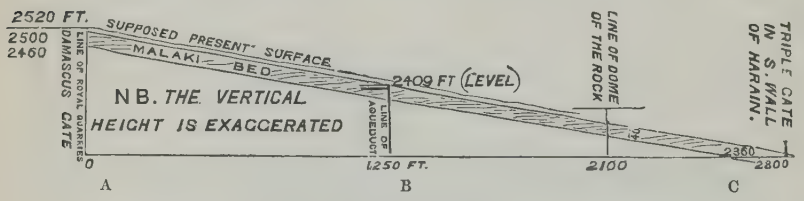
(3 p.) Strata near Jerusalem dip to E.S.E. at about 10°.

No doubt Colonel Wilson means these data to be taken for the *malaki* as well as for the *missæ*, as Lieutenant Conder adopts them in *Quarterly Statement*. 1881, pp. 57, 58.

As however any dip of from 10° to 15° would cause the malaki on the eastern hill to bury itself, while as a matter of fact it keeps for a long distance near the surface, the data of Colonel Wilson seem (to me) to fail to help us in endeavouring to find the position of the malaki on the old rock surface of the western side of Ophel (so called).

Assuming therefore a uniform slope in the malaki and a uniform thickness, the average of the dip to south seems to be nothing like 10° (*i.e.* 17·3648 feet in 100 feet) still less any further approach to 15° (*i.e.* 25·8819 feet in 100 feet) but rather (so far as I can make out) about 7 feet in 100 feet at the most.

This conclusion is arrived at thus :—



The top of the malaki (which is excavated near the Damascus Gate, Ordn. Notes, p. 63) may be said to be about 2,500 feet above the sea, and the aqueduct, 1,250 feet distant from that point and near the N.W. of the Haram, is at a level of 2,409 feet (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 36), and the passages in the *malaki* near the Triple Gate (Ordn. Notes, p. 76) are about 2,360 feet above the sea.

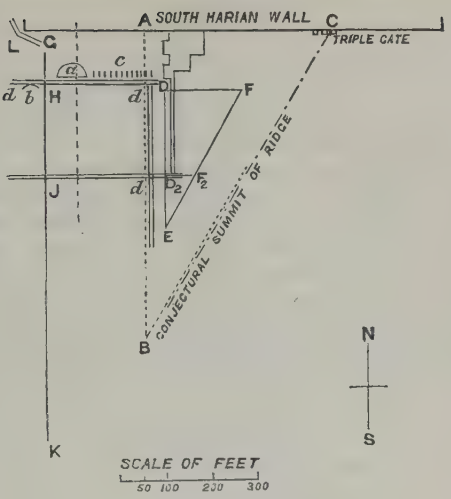
(*a*) Therefore we have a fall from A to B (*i.e.*, in 1,250 feet) of 91 feet.
(*b*) and „ „ „ A to C (*i.e.*, in 2,800 feet) „ 140 „
but at a dip of 10° we ought to have (*see* above *a*) in—

(*a*) A fall of $\frac{1250}{100} \times 17\frac{1}{3}$ = or of more than 210 feet, and in

(*b*) „ „ $\frac{2800}{100} \times 17\frac{1}{3}$ = „ about 480 „

Here the discrepancy between the theoretical and actual fall is so great (viz. 210 feet instead of 91 feet, and 480 feet instead of 140 feet) that I think it will be apparent that the incline of the malaki southwards cannot be from 10° to 15° (*i.e.* from 17 feet to 25 feet in 100 feet) but about 7 feet in 100 feet.

It is uncertain where the wall crossed the Tyropæon (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 174). If the aqueduct L be (as I suppose it must be) as old as the time of Hezekiah, it seems (to me) that it must have been within the walls, and, therefore, in order to find room for the pool of Siloah within the walls (may it not have been without ?) the point H where *dd* intersects G K is apparently marked on the plan as far north as is prac-



a. Pool of Siloah.
b. Fountain Gate.
c. Stairs of the City of David.
d d d. Wall of City passing over against the sepulchres of David.

A B C. The area of malaki on Ophel on western side of the hill.
D E F. Area within which is the Tomb of David (ALWAYS SUPPOSING IT WAS IN THE GREAT MALAKI STRATUM).

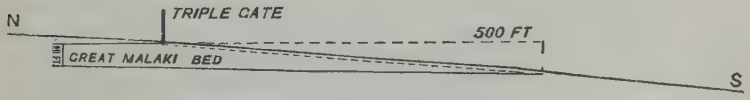
ticable for it to have been. The crossing wall however may have been further south, even as far as J, in which case the area to be searched is reduced possibly even to D_2 E F_2.

Thus so contracted may probably become the possible area of malaki to be searched for David's tomb, that one is forced to contemplate the possibility of its not having been made after all in the malaki bed.

That the line of Robinson's arch cannot have been that of the stairs of the City of David seems to me impossible on account of the aqueduct "L" (see above). Nor can I think that Herod covered David's Tomb by his addition at the south-west corner of the Haram.

As the malaki falls to the east, and as it is not proposed to question the accuracy of Col. Wilson's statement that the passages underground at the Triple Gate are cut in the malaki, it seems we must allow that the malaki crops up at that gate, and thence southwards is for some unknown distance the surface rock on the top of the natural rock-ridge of Ophel so called.

Still assuming that the fall of the malaki is uniform, we must (as the Ophel hill falls very rapidly south of the Triple Gate) conclude that at 600 ft. south of the Haram wall, the malaki has already come to an end.



I question however whether it reaches as far as 500 ft. (as in plan), and of this length the last 100 or 150 ft. would be too thin a layer to be

probably used for a tomb. In like manner in the previous plan, it is necessary to leave a considerable distance between the parallel lines E F, B C, since it is not likely that the Tomb would be excavated near the top of the malaki bed, lest the roof of malaki should not be sufficiently strong.

The *scarp* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 175) seems, however, to offer a short cut. Ten pounds spent by Mr. Schick would (I think) settle the question as to whether a wall ever stood at the top of it. If no city wall ever did, then (I believe) the face of the scarp (if bared) would reveal the entrance to *a*, if not to *the*, *royal tomb*. The cost might perhaps be £50.

N.B.—The discovery of the wall crossing the Tyropœan would be valuable on its own account, and would not, I imagine, be a difficult matter.

The same may be said of the consequent discovery of the stairs of the City of David, and of the Pool (of Siloah), and these would show that we were on the right track for the Tomb of David, and would (probably) vastly reduce the area of malaki to be searched by giving us the right positions of D F or D_2 F_2.

W. F. Birch.

EBEN-EZER.

As sparks of topographical truth are likely to be elicited by the collision of different opinions, I hope that the identification of Mizpeh with Neby Samwîl will be attacked by those who disapprove of it. Confident that this is the real position of Mizpeh, we next turn to the Survey Map to search for the other places named in 1 Sam. vii, 11, 12, viz., Bethcar, Shen, and Ebenezer. Mizpeh witnessed a trying hour for penitent Israel when the Philistines drew near to battle as Samuel was crying to God: the smoke of the burnt offering was still going up to heaven, when suddenly the black clouds burst in a terrific thunderstorm over the heads of the unfortunate invaders. They reeled, turned, and soon before the well-known Jewish rush were flying panic-stricken down the long slopes towards Yesin, nor did the pursuit along Wâdy Beit Hanina cease until they came under Ain Kârim.

Let us stand in imagination upon the octagon tower at Neby Samwîl and survey this most interesting scene of Samuel's victory.

There, due south of us, just three miles off on the high ground, we see Shen (Yesin). More to the right (*i.e.* west) appears Ain Kârim (Bethcar) under which the Philistines passed in their headlong flight. Still further to the right we detect Aphek (Kŭstŭl) three and a half miles off. Below us (between us and Shen), on the ridge running towards Lifta—is a ruin (about a mile from where we stand) called Khurbet Samwîl. There it was that "Samuel took a stone and set it up, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

I hope the New Expedition will accept the omen, and begin its valuable

work by taking a photograph of so deeply interesting a spot. And then if every person and place bearing this world-wide name will either take a copy or subscribe to the Palestine Exploration Fund, enough money will be at the disposal of the Committee to enable them to discover the sepulchre of David (on Ophel so called) in "the city of David, which is Zion." Thus will the great Zion controversy come to a happy end, in the complete identification of "the first three mighty" places of religious fame, Bethel, Ebenezer, and Zion.

Shen, lit. Ha-Shen, easily assumes the form Deir (Convent); *Yesin* (Survey Map); or Dair *Yaseen* (Finn).

Ain Kârim. In *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 198, it is suggested that this may be Kirjath Jearim. For Bethcar Lieut. Conder proposed Khurbet Hasan in 1876. Ain Kârim, 1878, but rejects both in 1879 ("Handbook," p. 424).

Aphek, where the Philistines encamped near Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv, 1), is said to mean a *fortress*, and so identifies itself by reason of *distance*, *character*, and *name*, with "the fortress-like village" of Kŭstŭl, "an ancient 'Castellum' of the Roman conquerors." A neighbouring spring called Ain el Foka, might also be taken to preserve the ancient name of Aphek, if "Foka" (upper) did not frequently occur elsewhere on the map.

Ebenezer. The only previous site proposed (so far as I know) is Deir Abân (M. Ganneau, 1877, p. 155), advocated by Lieut. Conder, 1876, p. 149, and "Tent Work," ii, 336. It is, however, twelve miles distant, as the crow flies, from Neby Samwîl, and far more by Wâdy Surâr.

As the stone was set up between Mizpeh and Hashen, while in this line Wâdy Beit Hannîna is but two miles distant from Neby Samwîl, the choice for a position for Ebenezer is very limited.

A reference to the map will show that there is a declivity running towards Lifta, on some part of which Ebenezer *must* have stood, since it is absurd to suppose that it was in the narrow ravine to the west. (1 Sam. iv, 1; v, 1.) Aphek is the present Kŭstŭl.

Samuel's name might easily be connected with Ebenezer (just as Lieutenant Conder's is with the cairn on Râs es Sherifeh (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 105), and the place being called Khurbet Samwîl would easily lead to the height above being called Neby Samwîl, suggesting the present traditions. The recovery of this celebrated site seems to me to witness to the great value and excellence of the Survey work.

W. F. Birch.

Sodom. After placing Zoar at Tell esh Shâghur, I have no choice left but to identify Sodom with Tell er Rama, about a quarter of an hour's walk towards the south. It is a gratuitous supposition to think that Zoar was nearer to the hills than Sodom. The narrative also requires that there should be but a short distance between the two places.

Seirath (Judg. iii, 26). The name apparently still survives in Umm Sirah and Wâdy Umm Sirah, about three miles north-west of Ain es Sultân.

W. F. B.

VALLEY OF HINNOM.

I PROPOSE to reconsider Colonel Warren's theory of extending the Valley of Hinnom up the Kedron ravine to the east side of the city. The Dean of Westminster has endorsed it ("Recovery of Jerusalem," p. xiv), and called special attention to its importance. M. Ganneau, in 1870, advocated the same theory on finding a rock (Zehweleh) close to the Virgin's Fount, which he identified with the rock Zoheleth, and the fountain En Rogel. Other writers have also affirmed that the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom are identical; so that the theory would seem to have received some considerable endorsement; and Colonel Warren has reaffirmed it recently in his "Underground Researches" in the following words: "I have shown that the Valley of Hinnom is to the east of the city," p. 19.

It thus appears, a passage in Jeremiah has led eminent authorities astray, and that *east gate* has been accepted as a correct translation in chap. xix, 2.

> "Go forth into the Valley of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate." Jer. xix, 2.

This word would be as correctly translated *west* as *east*, and would be incorrect in either case, as the following comparison will prove.

> "Entry of the (haresoth), east gate." Jeremiah xix, 2.
> "Before the (haresath), sun went down." Judges xiv, 18.

If it indicates sun-*rising* in the first case, it indicates sun-*setting* in the other case; and hence means *west* in the one case, and *east* in the other, which is an absurdity.

The actual truth is simple enough. The word is used in the Bible to represent the sun as god of day, whether in the east, or west; and, therefore, the words *shor haresoth* (Jeremiah xix, 2) ought to have been translated by the simple title, *sun-gate*. It is the idolatrous and Moabitish name for the god of day, whether rising or setting. Hence, we read that one of the five Egyptian cities was called in the language of Canaan עיר תחרס = City of the Sun, or Sun City (Isaiah xix, 18). And in another place, we read: "He commandeth לחרס = the sun, and it riseth not (Job ix, 7). The Hebrew root-word is *huras*, and in Arabic, *harasha*. The feminine plural form is *haresoth*, as given in the disputed passage.

A careful consideration of the whole chapter (Jeremiah xix), will make it self-evident that the prophet was not sent to the *east gate* of the Temple Area, but to some gate at the *south* of the Temple Hill, and of the Ophel. Here are all the controlling passages. Let us examine them.

"Go forth unto the Valley of Hinnom, by the entry of the (haresoth) east gate, and proclaim *there* the words that I shall tell thee." Jeremiah xix, 2.

What definite locality is meant by the word THERE? no one can doubt it answers for the preceding words "Valley of Hinnom." But *what* place in the Valley of Hinnom is definitely meant; is it east, west, or south of the Temple Area? The two passages we now cite, which follow the above, will give a definite answer to this problem.

"Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that *this place* shall no more be called *Tophet*." Ver. 6.

"Then came Jeremiah *from Tophet*, whither the Lord had sent him to prophesy." Ver. 14.

These are the controlling passages: surely no one will pretend to say that Tophet was at the *entry* of the east gate of the Temple Area, and yet Tophet was the exact spot where Jeremiah was sent to, and the *place* where he delivered the prophecy he was sent to deliver.

Tophet was *south* of the Ophel Hill somewhere; we need not discuss its exact place. No description of Tophet will apply to the *eastern side of the city*, or eastern front of the Temple Area along the Kedron ravine, especially Isaiah xxx, 33; 2 Kings xxiii, 10; Jeremiah vii, 31, 32; xix, 6, 11-14. Whatever place is meant by the *haresoth*, or *sun-gate*, in the passage in question which has led to this theory, Tophet was the place intended, and no other is meant; and Tophet is said to have been "by the entry" of this gate.

Whoever supposes that Tophet was placed by the entry of the east gate of the Temple Area must also be prepared to admit that Josiah, when he defiled Tophet (2 Kings xxiii, 10; Isaiah xxx, 33; 2 Chronicles xxxiv, 4), made a permanent place of defilement in front of the east gate of the Temple Area somewhere in the Kedron Valley; such in fact as ever afterwards became the only physical type of *Hell* known to a Jew. Such an abomination at the eastern front of the Sacred and Holy Place, and in sight of the worshippers, and under the very walls and foundations of the Holy Courts, is too horrible to contemplate, and would never have been permitted; and hence such an interpretation and theory as make this word *haresoth-gate* to mean *east-gate* of the Holy Sanctuary is utterly inadmissible. The objection is fatal to any such supposition.

It is much more reasonable to suppose that the prophet was desired to go to the south gate leading to Tophet, where the idolatrous people were probably assembled, in front of all the places devoted to Moabitish wickedness—to Tophet at the entry of this south gate, where the sun was probably then being worshipped. And in such a case, what would be more natural than for the Moabitish name of the sun as the god of day, to be given to this southern gate, and to be branded for the time being with the Moabitish name of the sun, then being worshipped at the "entry of the *sun-gate*? not that *shor haresoth* was its permanent name, but the locally descriptive name given to it for the time being, to be in accord

with the idolatry going on there, and the prophecy delivered by Jeremiah?

Colonel Warren says: "the Arabic accounts speak of the Kedron as the Wâdy Gehinnom." ("Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 239.) This is true. But the name is against the theory. The Kedron is a true ravine, and the Arabs call it the Wâdy Kedron; when speaking of it east of the Temple Area, and independent of its relation to the valley south of the Temple Hill. But *Wâdy Ge-Hinnom* means ravine of the Valley Hinnom, which is technically correct, for Kedron is the ravine or wâdy which runs through the valley in front of the Ophel Hill, and of the Pool Siloam. If the word *wâdy* was equivalent to *valley*, they would say Wâdy Hinnom, but never Wâdy Gehinnom, which is what they do say. They never apply the word *gai* to the ravine, and say Ge-Kedron, as they say Ge-Hinnom; yet they say Wâdy Kedron, but never Wâdy Hinnom. These objections might be multiplied a hundredfold; but I refrain, that my note may not be too long.

Strathroy, Ont., Canada. S. Beswick.

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE EXODUS.

By Greville J. Chester, B.A. (Member of the Royal Archæological Institute).

The importance and interest of this subject will, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient excuse for my making a few observations upon Lieutenant Conder's paper in the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1880.

In his first section Mr. Conder sums up his arguments based upon the extension of land due to the annual deposit of mud upon the Mediterranean coast, by stating that "in all probability neither the bar nor the lagoon (of Serbonis) existed at all in the early historic period of the Exodus. The old Serbonian Bog has no doubt (!) long since become dry, as the present lagoon appears also likely in time to become, and the fact pointed out by Mr. Greville Chester that the Gelseh (*i.e.*, Mount Casius) is merely a great sand-dune is of considerable importance in confirmation of this view." p. 232.

Now in respect to this statement I have to remark that while I totally disbelieve that the Serbonian Bog is the Jam *Sûph*, for reasons given in my report of my journey to the place in question, and while I consider Dr. Brugsch's theory of the route of the Israelites as far as Mount Casius, probably Baal-zephon, as *in its main features* a highly probable one (how the Israelites got away from that point is another and different question to be dealt with hereafter), I am disposed to consider Mr. Conder's remarks already quoted as destitute of any solid foundation in fact whatsoever. While fully admitting the advance of land into the sea by the

processes of deposit and silting up on the coast to the *West* of Gelse Hemdeyeh (the presumed Pi-hariroth), I am convinced by personal observation that such operations or processes are not in progress at the present time to the East of that point, and I am strongly disposed to doubt whether they *ever* were. In fact, whether from a reflux from the Eastward set of the tides from the mouths of the Nile or from some other natural cause, the tendency of the Mediterranean from Gelse Hemdeyeh to El Gelse, and thence to the Eastern end of Serbonis is not to *deposit* but to *encroach*. The low Gelse of Hemdeyeh has been shorn of its ancient proportions by the set of the marine currents, and some of the ancient fortifications which crown its low elevation have been undermined by the waves and have fallen upon the beach. I have no sort of doubt that the Ras once extended further seawards than it does at present. This is indicated by the existence of an ancient well-shaft in the face of the present cliff; and the existing stone walls of fortification which are adapted to a sea frontage were in all probability built as a kind of breakwater when a portion of the formerly existing town had been swept away. It is worthy of remark that the sea itself even for some miles West of Gelse Hemdeyeh has ceased to be muddy as it breaks on the shore, and all along the strip, from one end to the other of the Serbonian Lake, the water of the Mediterranean is as bright and clear as it ever is when the bottom is formed of sand. But further, the highest portion of the sand-dune of el Gelse (Baal-zephon) itself has apparently been bisected by the waves, and even when the sea is perfectly calm, as it was on the day of my visit, it is all one can do to pass between the sea and the headland. Driven by a north wind, the waves would doubtless impinge upon the cliff. And here again there is not deposition but encroachment. In short I am convinced that if the Serbonian Bog had any existence at all in ancient times it must have existed upon its present site, and upon none other. It could not, as Lieutenant Conder fondly imagines, have been situated to the *South* of its present area, and since have disappeared, because the hills of the Gebel, which, in places, are of considerable elevation, dip right down into the Lake. In other words there is no room for the Serbonian Lake between the Mediterranean and the Gebel in any other position than that which it occupies at present.

II. The hypothesis advanced by Mr. Conder at the beginning of his third section seems scarcely fairly put, for he assumes too much, and much indeed which is contrary to fact. He says, "If the distances implied by Brugsch are impossible, and the supposed route along the sand-spit was not only an unnecessary detour, but impossible, because no such spit then existed," &c., p. 233. Now "the supposed route," along the sand-spit was not, and Mr. Conder has not even attempted to show that it was, "an unnecessary detour." I believe, on the contrary, and the testimony of Sheyk Arâdeh and his Bedaween confirm my belief, that the coast-route from Egypt to Syria to the *North* is as short, and even *shorter* than that through the Desert to the *South* of Lake Serbonis, and it is only rarely used at the present day by the Arab passers-by between

Egypt and Syria, from the impossibility of calculating beforehand whether or no a passage across the inlet at the spot called El Saranît at the Eastern end of the Lake could be effected at the required time, for when the sea is rough the transit is impossible.

I cannot understand why Lieutenant Conder should assume that "no such spit then existed," if by the word "spit" he means the strip of sand along which I journeyed between the Sea and the Lake. If the strip of sand which forms the Northern shore of Serbonis did *not* exist, then Serbonis would not be a lake at all, but a portion of the open Mediterranean, and I have already given sufficient reasons for concluding that the "great Serbonian Bog" could have had no other position than that it at present occupies.

My reasons for suggesting that Tell el Hîr is the site of the Migdol of Exodus and the Magdolon of the Greeks, are that at that point I found not only the remains of a city of large extent and evidently of considerable importance in ancient times, but that at the same place I found a massive square *tower* of crude brick, the remains, evidently, of a strong and important frontier fortress. The Tel es Semût of Dr. Brugsch and several maps, I failed to find at all, and I am altogether at a loss to know why the Bedaween unanimously denied the existence of a Tel bearing any such a name. Mr. Conder jumps to the conclusion that it is an Arabic name, and translates it "Hillock of Acacias," but acacia trees do not grow in the Desert, and Dr. Brugsch claims the name as ancient Egyptian, and the place as having been in the XVIIIth dynasty the most Northern point of Egypt. He states that King Amenophis IV summoned workmen from the city of Elephantine to Samout, from one end, that is, of his empire, to the other. A similar collocation of places is mentioned in Ezek. xxix, 10, and xxx, 6, where the rendering of the A. V. "from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia," is sheer nonsense, but is corrected in the equally authoritative margin, "from Migdol to Syene." It is worthy of note that there are several places in Egypt bearing names similar to Samout, of which the large town of Samanhood is a good example. Upon what authority, for he advances none, Mr. Conder says, p. 234, "The Baal-zephon of Brugsch has been *proved an impossible identification*," I am altogether at a loss to imagine. Who has "*proved*" it? On the contrary, such a competent scholar as Professor Sayce considers the identification to be nearly certain, and where, if not at Mount Casius, could such a name and place as Baal-zephon be looked for? It is a curious fact, and worthy of note in passing, that a more northern Baal-zephon, now Jebel el Akra in Northern Syria, had also its ancient shrine succeeded by a Temple of Zeus Kasios.

And here I would state that although I discovered by personal inspection that Dr. Brugsch's *Isthmus* from the Gelse to the mainland has no existence in fact, and proved that the Serbonian Lake, being a mere brine pit with a shifting bottom, and consequently without either a lacustrine or marine vegetation, neither is nor could have been the Jam *Sûph*, I am yet strongly inclined to believe that, omitting minor

details, Dr. Brugsch's proposed route of the Israelites from Sân is, in the main, the truest and most probable one yet proposed *as far as Mount Casius*. At that point, however, as I showed in my former paper, I part company with Brugsch Bey. The Israelites could not have crossed the Lake Serbonis by a non-existent Isthmus!

What course, then, supposing them to have reached El Gelse, could the flying people have pursued, when ordered by Divine intimation to desist from their direct route into Phœnicia, by the way or road of the Philistines? And here a point meets us of considerable importance. It is remarkable that throughout the *direct* narrative there is no mention of a Jam *Sûph*, or Sea of *Reeds*, at all. The *Jam*, the *Sea* alone is spoken of. The Israelites were commanded to encamp not by the *Sea of Reeds*, but by *the Sea*, which can scarcely be understood of any other body of water than the Mediterranean, cf. Exod. xiv, 2. Again we are told that the Egyptians with all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh overtook the Israelites encamping *by the Sea*, beside Pi-hariroth, before, or over-against, Baal-zephon, Exod. xiv, 9. Moses, again, stretched forth his hand over *the Sea*, and the Lord caused *the Sea* to go back by a strong East wind, and made *the Sea* dry land and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of *the Sea*, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left, Exod. xiv, 22. And the Egyptians pursued and went in after them (upon the track made by the division of the waters) to the midst of *the Sea*. Then, when the chariots "drave heavily" and the Egyptians, convinced that the Lord fought against them, had turned to flight, the Lord said unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand over *the Sea* that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, upon their horsemen." And Moses stretched forth his hand over *the Sea*, and *the Sea* returned to his strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of *the Sea*. And the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen, all the host of Pharaoh that came into *the Sea* after them, there remained not so much as one of them, Exod. xiv, 23-28. Now it is surely a remarkable circumstance that in all this *direct* narrative not one word is said about any *Jam Sûph* or *Sea of Reeds*. The *Sea* is alone spoken of, and that in a manner suitable to the physical features of the region between the Gelse Hemdeyeh, the presumed Pi-hariroth, and El Gelse, Mount Casius, the presumed Baal-zephon. It is not until we come to the Song of Moses in the next chapter that any mention is made of a *Jam Sûph* at all, and this, coupled with the fact that the term Jam Sûph is unquestionably applied in other passages to the Gulf of Akâbah, cf. Exod. xxiii, 31; Judges xi, 16, may surely arouse the suspicion that the term Jam *Sûph* (translated Red Sea in Exod. xv, 4) may have crept into the sacred text of the triumphant poem sung by Moses and the Beni-Israel without due authority. If this indeed *be* so, the way would seem comparatively clear. The Israelites advancing from Zoan Rameses, through Succoth, the booth or tent-country of the Nomad settlers, and passing Etham (possibly Tel Defneh) and Migdol (Tel el Hîr), would

have encamped before Pi-hariroth (Gelse Hemdeyeh) between Migdol and the sea, with the height of Baal-zephon bounding their view in the dim distance in front. At this point, with nothing but the narrow strip of land between the "Gulfs" of Serbonis and the Mediterranean in front, and with the wild desert behind—truly "entangled in the land"—they would have been overtaken by the King of Egypt and the Egyptian host. These last, it appears, halted to rest, probably from the fatigue of the hurried pursuit, and to prepare for their attack upon the host whom they felt they had, as it were, driven into a corner, and who could not escape them. Then began the passage of the host of Israel between the waters upon the narrow strip of land, which by the action of a strong east wind all night was wider than usual; and consequently easier for the passage of the sons of Israel, who "went into the midst of the sea upon dry *ground*, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand (the side of Serbonis) and on their left (the side of the Mediterranean), Exod. xiv, 22. When morning dawned the Egyptians first seem to have found that their prey was escaping them, and they too adventured in pursuit upon the sandy strip between the waters. But the Lord Jehovah fought against the Egyptians, and at the stretching forth of the arm of the Hebrew leader over the sea, the Lord "blew with His wind" and the sea returned to his strength and the waters returned and overwhelmed the chariots which already had drave heavily in the shifting sands, and overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, so that there remained not so much as one of them; and, looking back, Israel saw the corpses of the Egyptians upon the sea-shore.

Now if this be a fair comparison and adaptation of the sacred narrative to the physical features in the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean and Lake Serbonis, it will be seen how well the former is suited to the latter, and how admirably constituted the district in question must have been for the escape of the one host, and for the destruction of the other. When too there is added to these considerations the extreme improbability that the Israelites, whose object it was to get out of Egypt and out of reach of the Egyptian people as soon as possible, would have taken a Southerly course from Zoan, and passed through or skirted along Egyptian territory in the direction of Suez, and beyond that taken a route close to the Egyptian Establishments and garrison at Sarâbet el Kadîm in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, it will appear almost certain that the route advocated by Dr. Brugsch and traversed by myself is the actual one pursued by the people of Israel. It is surely far *more than a mere coincidence* that on the direct road between Zoan Rameses and Phœnicia an occasionally wave-swept track should be found with the waters on the right hand and upon the left! When, however, their pursuers had been engulphed and they saw their dead bodies strewn upon the sea-shore, what was the most probable course taken by the fugitives? Here it must be admitted that great doubts and difficulties intervene. If the Israelites had reached Mount Casius (Baal-zephon), the only place on the strip of sand which affords space for a numerous host, they could not,

when relieved of their immediate fears of pursuit, have crossed over directly to the main-land, because there is at that point no isthmus or tongue of land across the lake. Nor, in all probability, would they have continued their onward route along the strip and crossed at its Northern extremity, even if at that time there were no inlet from the sea, for that course would have been directly in the teeth of the Divine intimation that they were not to follow the way or road of the Phœnicians. They would be therefore compelled to retrace their steps along the strip again left dry by the return of the Mediterranean to its usual level by the action of a wind blowing across the Lake, as far as Pi-hariroth, or rather a little beyond it, and then, doubling round the end of Serbonis they may have turned in a South or South-easterly direction into the Desert of Shur.

In what direction would they then in all probability have turned their steps? Mr. Philip Smith has suggested to me that in three days (if indeed this expression may not be a round rather than a certain number) the Israelites would have reached the Bitter Lakes, which he would identify with the Marah of Exodus. This view, however, seems to me to be open to two objections. Some at any rate of the Hebrew host must be supposed to have known that the lakes were bitter beforehand, and consequently the fugitives would rather have avoided them than directed their steps towards them. And, secondly, the position of the Bitter Lakes is such that the host in advancing from Pi-hariroth would have had to skirt the hostile Egyptian territory all the way, if indeed the Lakes were not in Egyptian territory itself. The so-called Scrapeum near Ismailia, where large Egyptian remains have been discovered, are no great distance from the Bitter Lakes, and the latter would have been on the direct route to Sarâbet el Kadîm and the other Egyptian stations of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula. The object of the Israelites being to *avoid* the Egyptians, they would surely have given them and their country as wide a berth as possible. It seems, therefore, far more likely that on leaving Pi-hariroth they should have taken a South-easterly, rather than a Southerly course into the desert, and it is in that rather than in any other direction, I take it, that the key to the difficult question of the route of the Israelites should be sought for and will be found.

In conclusion, I venture to add a few notes which may serve to illustrate the general question.

One of the principal French maps of Lower Egypt marks the Lake Serbonis as *Lac desséché*. Whether this was the result of an actual survey of the Lake I am very much inclined to doubt; I doubt also whether even when the inlet at El Saranît at the Northern end was closed the Lake was ever entirely dry. The rush of water into the Lake at this point at the present time, described by me as "like a mill-race" seems to prove not only the immense amount of evaporation incident to a body of water some fifty miles in length and bordered by the burning sands of the desert, but also that the lake is at a lower level than the closely neighbouring Mediterranean. Now if this be so another fact demands consideration. The strip

of sand between the waters is so narrow and of such an easily permeated material—loose sand with here and there detached slabs of conglomerate formed of shells and sand, bound together by the decomposition of the lime in the shells by moisture—that one cannot doubt that water is supplied to the Lake by infiltration from the Mediterranean, as well as by natural inlets. Now if this be the case, the lake would never be dry, never merit the term *desséché;* although it might at times be rather a bog than a lake.

Investigators of the route taken by the Israelites after the catastrophe which overtook their pursuers, will henceforth have to take into account the arguments of the anonymous author of "The Hebrew Migration from Egypt," who endeavours, and that with considerable force, to prove that Mount Sinai is not in the "Siniatic" Peninsula at all, but in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor. In this connection I may state that the range of mountains to the South of Serbonis called by the Bedaween Hâleh (? Halal) were described to me by the Suarka Sheik Arâdeh as possessing springs and abounding in fine pasturage. If then the Israelites were on the way from Pi-hariroth to Mount Hor, they might have passed through Jebel Hâleh, and would there have found sufficient pasturage for their flocks and herds, which they could scarcely have done amidst the arid and burning defiles of the tract generally received as Sinai. This point, and the exact meaning of the expression Yam Sûph in connection with the Wilderness in the later Sacred Books, deserve careful investigation.

Note.—The sketch map which accompanied my previous paper on my journey from Sân to El Arîsh makes no pretensions to minute accuracy, and is intended only as a rough approximation to the places indicated.

LIFE, HABITS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLAHIN OF PALESTINE.* By Rev. F. A. Klein.

(*From the Zeitschrift of the German Palestine Exploration Society.*)

The present inhabitants of Palestine (that is to say the sons of the soil, may be divided into three tolerably distinct classes:

I. The inhabitants of the large towns (*madanī*, pl. *madanije.*)
II. The villagers (*fellāh*, pl. *fellahin*, peasants, agriculturists, from *falah*, he cultivates, tills the land).
III. The Bedawin (*bedawi*, dwellers in the desert), who consider them-

* Herr F. A. Klein (the discoverer of the Moabite stone) no longer lives in Palestine, but he had 26 years' experience of life in the Holy Land, and in his position of pastor of the Protestant Arab community—which he held for five years in Nazareth and the rest of the time at Jerusalem—he found many opportunities of holding familiar intercourse with the Fellahin.

selves the veritable Arabs, and proudly call themselves (and are sometimes called) *el 'arab*.

In their language, dress and the style of their dwellings, as well as in their customs and general mode of life, these three classes are sufficiently distinct, one from another, to enable those who have any knowledge of them to distinguish almost at the first glance or after hearing them speak a few words, the *Fellahin* from the *Madanîje*, and both from the *Bedawin*.

Of course there are individuals of each class, in whom one finds modifications with regard to intelligence, civilization and mode of life. And between particular towns, villages or Bedawin tribes, we find more or less difference of character, language and dress. The *Nâbuluser*, for instance, is the representative of a somewhat silly and ignorant type, and his way of making the sch into s (saying *sems* for *schems-sun*) and his drawling pronunciation of the final syllables (*ane mā suftōōōs* instead of *ana mā schuftōsch*) gives rise to many jokes at his expense. Again the characteristic of the people of Jaffa is, that they throw themselves heart and soul into trade; money-making is their religion. The poor of Jerusalem are *da'watschije*, the technical term for those who pray for the preservation of the Sultan and his Kingdom. In the holy places many high masses are celebrated both by Mahometans and Christians. Most of the Christians who are not attached to religious communities have become poor, and with a few notable exceptions, have lost all feelings of honour or independence of spirit, and seem to have no energy for earnest work. With regard to the villagers many are proverbial thieves and impostors as, for instance, the inhabitants of Bethany and Lifta, near Jerusalem; others are restless and quarrelsome like the people of Râm Allah; others again are complete blockheads like those of Beit Jala, both of which places are near Jerusalem. At Jifneh we find a village with quiet, honest, industrious people, and quite near at Râm Allah are a set of cheats, thieves, and robbers—who give the police and magistrates no end of trouble. Again at Bethlehem we find a particularly industrious, intelligent class of people who are both ingenious and enterprising, whilst scarcely half an hour's journey carries us to Beit Jala, where they are dull and boorish, and show plainly by their mode of speaking that they are of a rougher stock than the more polished Bethlehemites. The Nazarenes are fine, high-spirited people, with very independent natures; there you hear more vigorous language, with the gutturals more clearly sounded, than anywhere else in Palestine.

With respect to the Bedawin, the tribe of Bene Sakr look with sovereign contempt on the tribe of Taamireh and also on the Ghawarineh of the Jordan Valley, partly because they are somewhat deficient in the manly feeling and courage which they themselves possess, but more especially because they do a certain amount of agricultural work, and this the true Bedawin consider a real degradation.

Although, as we have already said, the three classes may be pretty

distinctly divided from one another, there are many places which combine more than one element. Thus there are some towns in which, although a civilized mode of life prevails, you will find so large an admixture of the Fellahīn element that you can only describe it as half a town, half a Fellahīn domain. Gaza belongs to this category. On the other hand, in many of the large and prosperous villages like Bethlehem or Nazareth—(which in spite of its 5,000 inhabitants is only a large village of the Fellahin class) we find a good many of the higher elements of metropolitan civilization, and in such places the mode of life is very different to that of the Mahometan or poorer villages.

As a mixture of Fellahīn and Bedawin, we may mention the people beyond Jordan in Jebel Ajlûn and in the Belka, amongst whom with a little of the town and Fellahin element one finds, both in language and customs, a great deal that is of Bedawin origin. Especially in Kerak, for there nearly all the Christian families live in tents all through the summer. It is only during the winter that they return to their dwellings and live like Fellahin. The women of this part of the country, whether Christian or Mahometan, are scarcely distinguishable from those of the Bedawin.

The town people naturally consider that they have reached the *ne plus ultra* of civilization, and pity the stupid, boorish Fellah. The very name has become a term of reproach, and is used to describe a stupid, uneducated man. The Fellah accepts his position quite good humouredly and acknowledges his want of polish ; his naïve excuse for any mistakes or stupid tricks is simply : *Māni fellāh?* Am I not a Fellāh? But the true Bedawi looks down upon both Townsfolk and Fellahin ; springing on his noble steed he feels himself one of the lords of creation, and gazing from his tent over the wide-spreading plain, he asserts his superiority over these miserable dwellers in houses.

The Fellahin villages vary according to the wealth of their inhabitants and the building materials which the neighbourhood can produce. In the mountain districts most of the houses are of stone, which is easily obtainable. In well-to-do villages you often see a number of fine buildings, with large yards for the cattle, which are enclosed by strong, high walls : The dwellings are large and lofty with thick walls, and the vaulted rooms rest on very massive pillars ; the builder cares little for beauty of style or even symmetry, his one idea is strength and durability ; one seldom finds neat edges, good arches or correct angles ; it seems that the love of the beautiful is no more developed in the present inhabitants of Palestine than it was amongst the ancient Hebrews. Nevertheless, in the richer villages, especially in the Nâbulus mountains, one often comes across houses, belonging to Sheikhs or other persons of importance, which are built with a certain amount of taste, and have balconies, galleries and flat roofs, and well decorated doors and windows. Proverbs and the date of building (*tarich*) are placed over the door, or somewhere on the walls ; great sums are often spent on their erection, and a Sheikh's house has more the appearance of an impregnable fortress than

of an ordinary dwelling place. Such buildings were a necessity in the old days when their inmates were exposed to constant feuds between the different villages, and were always subject to sudden attacks. When the people are poor, they erect four walls of roughly cut stone built with mortar or perhaps only clay. These are roofed with trunks of trees, branches and faggots, over which they put a layer of earth about a foot deep and well stamped down. The whole is then overlaid with a mixture of clay and straw which soon hardens in the sun; the roof is sloped to allow the rain to run off. As a rule such a roof is strengthened before the winter with a cylinder. Where this precaution is neglected the rain soaks through to the layer of earth and makes it so heavy that should the supporting rafters be at all rotten, the whole roof falls through. After a long spell of rainy weather this not unfrequently happens and causes bad accidents. In the villages near the sea, where planks can easily be got, the upper rooms and roofs are often built of wood, and are made waterproof by a facing of cement, a mixture of lime, ashes and small flints.

In the great plains (round Gaza, Jafa and 'Akko) the Fellahin build their houses, or rather huts, of sun-dried bricks.

As a rule the villages are built either on the summit or slope of a hill, so that they may remain dry in the rainy season, during which many of the plains become impassable bogs, and also to protect them from the attacks of the Bedawin, who are far more formidable enemies on the plains than among the hills.

Except where natural surroundings of vineyards, olives or palm trees lend them a little beauty, the villages are very ugly and unromantic looking; no red tiles or green shutters—no cupolas or minarets break the monotony of the endless flat roofs. There are nothing but grey, meaningless houses which either look ruinous or else unfinished. The best buildings even have not so much as a parapet. The covering of cement makes them look like dull blocks of stone surmounted by mounds of earth, on which the grass grows in early spring, and on which sometimes one sees a goat grazing. The buildings are so much the colour of the surrounding ground that in the distance it is difficult to tell whether you are looking at a village or at a group of rocks. Perhaps the most wretched looking of all the villages are those on the great plains, which are built of bricks or even of mud. If, as sometimes happens, such a village is deserted by its inhabitants, a couple of centuries or less suffices to sweep away all trace of it, and unless it has contained wells or a large mill stone, there would be nothing left to testify to its former existence. This may be one reason why the sites of many places mentioned in the Bible can no longer be found. The Fellah cares little for light or air in his dwelling. He has no windows, for he could scarcely protect himself against the cold, rain, and sharp winds which windows would admit, seeing that the village carpenter (if one there be) has not mastered the mysteries of window sashes, and even finds a good deal of difficulty in putting up an ordinary door. Still the chief reason why the Fellah contents himself with so little air is from a fear of

night attacks, and from the necessity of being able to turn his house into a little fort in the event of a village war or of hostile assaults. In many villages (as for instance at Râm Allah) it is customary to steal to an enemy's house at night and shoot through any hole that can be found, in the hope that although the shot may not take effect, it will at all events startle and frighten the family. Provided the inmates do not sleep in a line with such an opening, these nightly visits cause more alarm than injury. By day the door is always open, it is against etiquette to close it, as they think it gives an impression that something is going on of which they are ashamed, or that they want to prevent the entrance of guests. Nor has the Fellah any need of much light unless he happens to be a weaver or shoemaker (and of these there are but few), for his life is passed in the open air ; either in the vineyards and fig gardens, or in the market-place or the thrashing floor, taking a siesta in the sun, smoking his pipe and discussing the news of the day with his favourite comrades. If he gets too hot or finds it wearisome, he goes to the inn (*madāfe*) which is sometimes town hall, casino and church (for the Mussulmen) all in one. He loves this out-door life, and only uses his close and unventilated dwelling as a safe place for his night's rest. Most of the houses have only one story, but well-to-do people, and especially the sheikhs, think a great deal of an upper floor where they can receive honoured guests, and where the host can remain with them and not be disturbed by the curiosity of callers or chance listeners. The walls are decorated and the floor cemented, and it is altogether better than the ground floor, to which not only all sorts of people, but even the cattle, have entrance. In the better houses there is generally a small terrace on the upper story, which is finished with a parapet (called a *hāzir* in Nazareth and also *umhawwata*) on which one has a good view and fresh air ; it is a pleasant resting place after the heat of the day. In the plains even the poorest huts have (lightly built) upper floors constructed of branches, mats, and leaves, where the inmates take refuge during the summer from the suffocating heat and from the vermin which make the lower stories almost uninhabitable. The stone which is most in use for building, everywhere except in the plains, is a kind of limestone, of which there are several varieties. The *ka'kūte*, a rather soft yellowish stone, is easy to work and can almost be cut with a knife when newly broken ; it hardens on exposure to the air, but is not durable, for it very easily breaks. On account of its lightness it is often employed in building upper stories to lessen the weight on the foundations, and also as a facing to doors and windows whenever decorations are required. A much more durable stone is the *malaki*, it is harder to work than *ka'kūte*, but it keeps its colour well and is of a good pure white ; the Fellahin generally use it for their better houses. The *jehūdī* or Jew's stone is exceedingly hard, and has been but little used for building purposes ; during the last few years, however, owing to a scarcity of material, it has been utilized in and about Jerusalem. Like the softer kinds it is cut in blocks, and the stonemasons of Bethlehem by the use of good tools and constant practice, have acquired a particular reputation for hewing it. It must have

been used in former times, for it is found in some of the oldest ruins, though only in unhewn blocks or in a very rough state. Round about Nazareth they use a porous limestone called *uārī*-firestone, on account of its not splitting when exposed to heat. It is therefore much employed in building ovens. They have also a very porous, light stone called *'akkād.* And latterly the *mizzi hīlu* (also a limestone) has been much used in Bethlehem and other parts; it is a beautiful stone but very hard to work. In the regions of the Jordan and around the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, black basaltic stone is often used and this gives the villages rather a melancholy aspect. If there are any ruins in the neighbourhood the people gladly make use of them so that one often sees ancient capitals and portions of pillars set into the modern buildings. They make their mortar of lime mixed with sifted earth; but for cottages or huts, clay is thought sufficient. The first consideration in building a house is making the foundations secure; if possible they must be on a rock and for this purpose they not unfrequently dig as far below the ground as the house is high above it in order to give it a firm basis.

This is a very necessary precaution; not only do the heavily built buildings require something to rest on, but the heavy rains in the winter bring a force of water that sinks into the ground for several feet and softens everything: a foundation only of earth would soon give way, and the building collapse.

The erection of a new house is always a great event in the village; the man about to build it thinks of nothing else. As soon as the plans are drawn and the foundations commenced, he sits down beside his architect, foreman, and builder (one and the same person) and calmly smoking his pipe, follows the whole process with the greatest interest, occasionally signifying his approval by giving advice or urging on the work. When it is a Sheikh's or some other village potentate's house which is being built, the celebrities of the place, priests, elders, etc., join him in order to show their interest in the important event. On these occasions there is a great deal of chatter, smoking, and drinking of coffee; the builder is praised or advised; the boys, girls, and women run about with baskets and little wooden trays carrying away rubbish and returning with mortar. An overseer, armed with a stick, marches round and brings up the idlers, giving them gentle reminders with his cane. After a long spell of work, or when the heat is very oppressive, their energy sometimes fails; they then enliven themselves with a song. Some one starts them by singing a few bars, and then they all join in, the subject is often very nonsensical, but when it refers to the splendid *backsheesh* or the good feast which they expect at the completion of the work, it always causes great merriment. The builder, as long as the work is in progress, is a person of great importance, and is treated with the greatest respect by his employer, even if this latter is a Mussulman, and the builder a Christian. A cup of black coffee is frequently offered him, to keep him in a good humour during the heat of the day, and this attention always pleases him. It is astonishing to notice how the Arab labourer will work from sunrise to sunset.

exposed to the most fearful heat, only resting an hour and a half at midday, and taking scarcely any nourishment save the cup of black coffee, which he considers the best of all refreshments when hot and tired.

When the house has progressed as far as the roof, that is to say when the side walls are up, and the framework and first covering of the roof is ready, all the village assembles to assist at its completion. Then follows much running to and fro and screaming and singing enough to drive any one wild. Some prepare the mortar; the boys, girls, and women hand it to the builder, and men bring up the stones. The builder places stone after stone, filling them in with mortar, and gasping with hurry and excitement; the children yell, the men sing choruses and the women join in the *zaghārīt*, until the solemn moment arrives when the last stone is about to be put on. Then the builder pauses and prepares to complete the work in a becoming manner, a youth with a loud voice announces that the crowning point has been reached.

The builder then makes a sign to the owner that all is finished, and this latter covers him with a mantle of honour (a black and silver embroidered *abā*) and hands him his *backsheesh*. After which the whole company falls to and devour a feast of meat, rice, and bread, and then depart highly delighted with their work and its reward. I have often witnessed such scenes in Nazareth and the neighbouring villages. Where the people are lucky enough to possess a newspaper or journal, a leading article enlarges upon the important event, and hands it down to posterity.

Every well arranged house possesses a bakehouse, for with the Arabs bread is really the staff of life. If the poor people have only corn enough (or even *dura*, a kind of millet) to make their bread, they consider themselves well off. All other food, even meal, they regard as a sort of vegetable, which they can do without. Many houses have their own bakehouse, but sometimes one has to answer for several families. It is generally a hut built of stone and clay, and scarcely high enough to stand upright in. The most important part of the oven is a platter or tray made of clay; it measures about 20 inches across; its surface is covered with small flints, and it has a closely fitting cover of the same material with a long handle. When they are about to bake, the cover is put on, and a lot of dried manure is heaped above it and set fire to; after a few hours, the whole thing is thoroughly heated; the ashes are then removed, the cover raised, and the dough laid upon the glowing flints in thin layers (something like pancakes), which very soon bake. When the baking is over the shelf is again covered up, the ashes are replaced, and more fuel is added so that the oven may be kept hot. As the bakehouse is generally warm, a Fellah often creeps in in cold weather to warm himself or to take a nap. It matters not to him that his clothes become somewhat scented by the odours of the peculiar fuel. He cares as little for that as he does for the jeers of his superiors. A little while ago during very cold weather, a mother put one of her young children into a bakehouse to warm it. She laid it on a mat and left it, but when she returned to fetch it, she found it dead and half baked, as the oven had become too hot.

Each of the larger villages are divided into quarters (*hārāt*); these are named either from their position or after the chief families* who inhabit them. (*El-hāret el-fokā*, the upper part; *el-hāret et-sahtar*, the lower part.) For instance, in the village of Râm Allah there is the *hāret esch-schakara*, the quarter of the Schakara; and *hāret el-hadade*, quarter of the Hadade. Different families inhabiting the same village often have feuds which last for years, and whilst they continue all communication is cut off between the different quarters. Each side has its own inn, and if, as, for instance, in a Christian village, the church happens to be in the A quarter which is at enmity with the B quarter, perhaps for years no inhabitant of the latter will attend the service. If after a long time the quarrel is not made up, the quarter B will start a priest of their own, and perhaps build a church; this, I know, happened at Saijibeh (Ophra?) and thus all communication is cut off between the opposing parties. A common inn is generally a sign that the village is at peace, whereas two or three denote internal troubles. The villages only possess two public buildings, one for religious purposes, the church or mosque, and one for worldly use, viz., the *madāfe*, *mazul*, or inn.

In many villages there is the tomb of some holy man, which is called a *makām;* it is generally a little building with a cupola, and is surrounded by a few shady trees. In Mahometan villages the inn is often used as the mosque, and there you may not only find shelter and food and converse with the neighbours about local or political events, but you may also join in the prayers of the priests. The market-place (*sūk*) or Fruit Market in large villages, or the bazaars in smaller ones, are also places of resort where people meet to discuss the news of the day, and where the Fellah kills a portion of the time which so often hangs heavily on his hands. The internal arrangements of the Fellahin dwellings are very primitive. The room is divided into two parts, one of which is occupied by the cattle (oxen, donkeys and fowls), and the other, which is reached by a few steps, forms the living room of the family. On this principle the Fellah, when he closes his door at night, has all his possessions under one roof, and can more easily protect them. The living room has a cemented floor, and as the cattle are not admitted, it can be kept fairly clean. If a guest arrives the wife or daughter of the house has only to give the floor a hasty sweep and lay down a straw mat, or in the better families a carpet on which the visitor takes his seat. After a while when one has become accustomed to the dim light one feels curious to see how this strange reception room is furnished; a glance, however, suffices to show us that it contains nothing comfortable or artistic. There are perhaps several corn-bins, which the women make out of clay and straw. They open at the top for the grain to be shot in, and low down there is a small hole, stopped with a peg, through which the daily portion is taken out.

These bins generally stand a little out from the wall, leaving a useful

* *Hamule—Hamā'il.*

space for lumber and rubbish, which also forms a retreat for the female portions of the family. In one corner stands a large water butt called, like the bins, a *chabije*, and made in the same manner; the water is ladled out with a little pitcher which also serves as a drinking mug. Where there is an attempt at anything a little more artistic, they have a little black earthenware mug ornamented with red designs, and made with a curved spout, from which (those who are experienced) allow the water to fall in a stream down their throat without touching it with their lips. We must not forget to mention another very important article, namely, the mill. For heating the room and for cooking or coffee roasting there is a sort of fireplace, without any proper aperture for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way through a small hole in the wall, after having blinded and nearly stifled the inmates. The chief advantage of this method of warming is that the walls of the room require neither paper nor paint, but soon acquire a fine brown or black surface. Over the fireplace or from some projection hangs a simple iron lamp* which is kept burning all through the night; only the very poorest of the Arabs sleep in darkness. The saying "Poor fellow! he sleeps in darkness," is equivalent to "Poor wretch, he hasn't a farthing to buy oil with!" A many-coloured chest contains the family wardrobe and the women's jewels, and is also the safest place for the bestowal of money, papers, and other valuables. Although most of them are now provided with a simple apparatus which causes a bell to ring if the lock be turned, it not unfrequently happens that thieves carry off these valuable chests by means of a night raid. A few iron and wooden vessels† are used for cooking utensils. A round mat, often very prettily made of red and black straw, and the work of the women, serves as table, tablecloth and dish; an iron pot, or in some villages a leather bottle or pail is used for fetching water.

Such are the simple necessities of the Fellah's life, and having them he lives contentedly and happily in his native land.

(*To be continued*).

THE ORDERS FOR MUSICAL SERVICES AT HAMATH.

Many thousands of stones, or tablets of metal, inscribed with catalogues of Royal hecatombs or humble pious names have come down to us from Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Rome; but the four stone offerings from Hamath differ from them in many ways. These four tablets I can translate, and I affirm them to contain orders for musical services. When the

* (*Sirādsch*).

† *Batije*, pl. *bawāti*.

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COPY FROM SQUEEZES OF THE STONE OFFERING FROM HAMATH.

Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

translations first came out they were rejected in many quarters without examination, not because they fail in adequate proof, but because their contents are novel. If these stones had contained an order to sacrifice a hundred oxen at the expense of some Royal Sargon or Xerxes, well and good ; the proof is ample. If, however, the democratic Hittites, to whom even the great Rameses II paid tribute of corn in his old age, and to whom we owe the Exodus of the Jews, are proved by these stones to have delighted in musical services, then the cry goes round, it is nought, it is nought. One would have thought that the evident visible existence of these four stones, new in kind, would have aroused an eager curiosity among the learned in such things, and that I should not have been left alone for eight years, wherein, so far as I know, not a single workman in the world besides myself has deciphered even one letter. The preliminary knowledge, however, requisite to judge intelligently what I have done is, after all, only that of a moderate amount of Hebrew, with its relations to Chaldee, and I should suppose that among the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund there may be, say, two hundred labourers who are competent. It is for them that I now write.

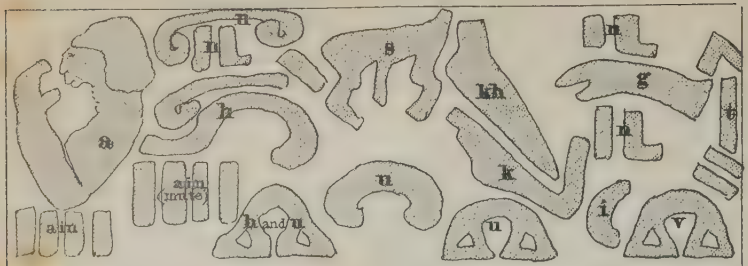
Turning, then, to the two plates accompanying this letterpress, the student of the Hittite dialect will have to satisfy himself in the first place that what we may call the squeeze plate and the transliteration plate differ merely in arrangement. The squeeze plate is taken from the plaster cast in the British Museum. The transliteration plate is an enlargement of the squeeze plate, in which the letters are spread out and turned about when necessary, so that each line shall be read, as in English, from the left hand side to the right. I object most strongly to the encumbering of scholars with a fresh, heavy, and unnecessary burden, by writing the new language from right to left. There is not the slightest necessity for our doing so, for the examination of the squeeze plate shows us clearly that we have at present an option given us between the two methods of writing. The first line in it begins, we see, from the right, the second from the left, and the third from the right again. The Greeks in former days availed themselves freely of either of these systems ; and experience, in later days, has taught them the advantage of the method I propose to follow in expounding the Hittite.

After satisfying himself that the manipulation has been a fair one, the student may take it upon trust that there are four of these squeeze plates now made known to us, which differ a little among each other. They differ not only in the names of those who offered up the stones, but in the localities from whence the offerents came up to offer, and in the state of preservation in which they have been found, and in the greater or less degree of carelessness of the masons who manufactured the stone offerings, and who obliterated or enlarged words here and there. I must, however, say for the masons that they seem to have been very much more conscientious than the similar class of men in Egypt, whose gross carelessness is disgraceful in reproducing portions of the Book of the Dead, paid for, no doubt, as genuine.

This may be a good place to call attention to the fact that this squeeze plate now published is not said to be a copy from a squeeze, but from squeezes. The meaning of this is that incomplete parts among the four stones have been consciously supplemented in each case by taking parts from the other three. If this had not been done the result would have been to compel us in each case to argue from an incomplete inscription. It will be found by-and-bye, when the types are ready, which I am told are being manufactured, that something of this sort will of necessity have been done in picking out model types. The fittest among them will survive, but not as the perfectly exact model of the mason's work. The matter here mentioned is of no grammatical importance, but practically I find I have left a person named Sahidi-Jah as the name of the offerent from a place called Iban, whereas the man who came from Iban was T'sadahi-Jav. The portion of the plate which would have given us the locality of Sahidi-Jah is unfortunately lost. The grammar is clearly not affected by this.

Let us then suppose our student with this hitherto unpublished transliteration plate before him. Take the first word, which looks as if it consisted of seven letters, that is to say, seven to the eye, but perhaps including a mute. For reasons which weigh with me I propose that the transliteration of these letters is to be given as *a-gann-hu*. There is of course some reason why I suppose it to be *a-gann-hu*. Some five or six years ago I remember being impressed with a notion that the stones belonged to a Chantry or Fane for sacred music. This impression found itself a place in the pages of the "Athenæum." Later on it led me to examine divers Hebrew words expressive of music. The result was that I turned to Isaiah xxvii, ver. 2, "In that day sing ye unto her a vineyard of red wine." The word for "sing ye" is here given us as *gann-u*. The *g* is not the gamma but the hard or guttural "*ain*" which is often mute. Now the decipherer, following the Newtonian method, is privileged to form one hypothesis for each of the unknown symbols or letters before him, even as Newton formed one hypothesis about the apple. It must be understood that Newton did not form a second hypothesis about the moon, but calculated a result about the moon's motion, which turned out to be right. Even so the intelligent student will observe exactly in the middle of the third line in the transliteration plate that I have made two hypotheses by naming two letters as "*d*" and "*i*." He will agree therefore that when he comes to the last word but one on the plate it is not as an hypothesis, but as a result, that he there sees the word "*di*," which in Chaldee means "of." Unless he understands this he may as well shut up the book; and if he does understand it, he will be entitled to say that on the hypothesis made in the middle of the plate about "*d*" and "*i*," a not inconsiderable amount of probability is given to the word at the end of the plate being "*di*." The number of coincidences of this sort, where the allowable hypotheses produce most suitable results, is very large throughout all the inscriptions. I have merely taken this simple case as an example. Considering that all man's knowledge is acquired in this way,

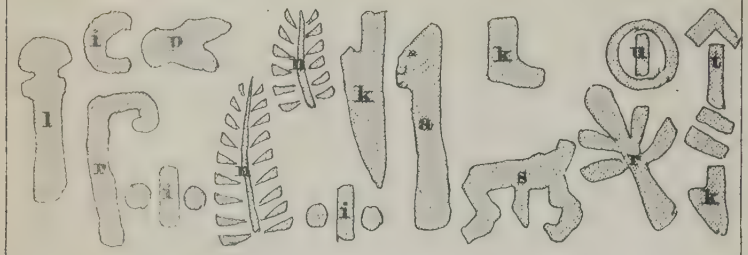
SUGGESTED TRANSLITERATION & TRANSLATION.



A-gann-hu
Start ye the song

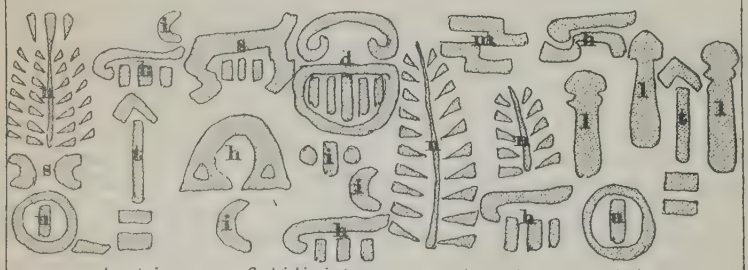
se-kh-u-ku
play ye

ne-gin-vat-i
my Harmonies



I irpinnik
that they may cause thee to cure

askura-t-ak
Thy foe is



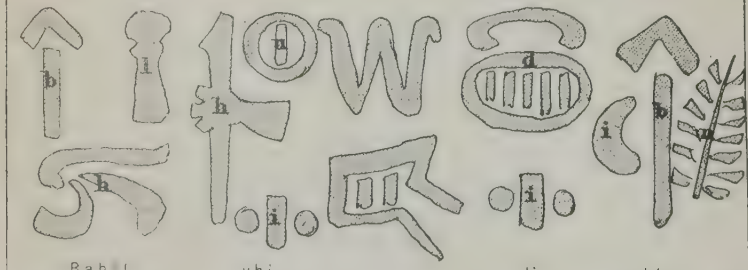
nesuha-t-i
the gift of me

Sahidi-jah

minneh
from whence cometh

hilulat
praise

I
to



Bahai
his gods

uhi
(ideograph)

di
of

Iban
Iban

Stanford's Geogl Estab.t

the way, namely, of hypothesis and suitable result, it is to be hoped that Orientalists may some day become conscious of the fact. In comparing the two words, the *gannu* of Isaiah xxvii and the hypothetical *a-gann-hu* of the plate, I admit that we are not yet in the region of strong probabilities ; all that we are yet entitled to say is that the certain existence of *gannu* is a sufficient inducement to us to hypothecate *a-gann-hu*.

If I supposed the language of the offering to be Hebrew I should be in a difficulty, for the aphel conjugation of verbs, which gives a causative meaning, is very little if at all used in Hebrew, but in Chaldee it is frequent. Causality in Chaldee is expressed by affixing the letter "*a*," so that in order to say "cause ye a song," or "start ye the music," we change the *gannu* into *a-gannu*. Here, again, this highly important result is got by using the Newtonian method. By the hypothesis of the first letter being an "*a*," a result is obtained that the conjugation of the verb is aphel or causative.

The recognition of the initial aleph as a sign of causation is very encouraging, and augments considerably the probability that the transliteration of *a-gann-hu* is correct ; but unless we can also explain the "*h*" in the final "*hu*," I should admit that the explanation of the aleph is in itself not enough, and might reasonably be held to be a mere chance coincidence. I said, however, above, that there are four of these stones. Let us then compare them with each other. Here let me say that in the fourth stone the masons were extremely pressed for room, so, instead of chipping out the word *a-gann-hu* they abbreviated it into merely an "*ag*." This admits, so far as I can see, of only one explanation, viz., that the word being thoroughly well known its abbreviation was also thoroughly well known. Just as "mem" in English would go occasionally for "memorandum," so "*ag*" in masons' Hittite went occasionally for *a-gann-hu*. Now the word *a-gann-hu* being a causative imperative second person plural, supposed by me to mean "cause ye" or "start ye" the song, is followed by what looks like another imperative second person plural, viz., *Se-khuk-u*, supposed by me to mean "play ye" from the same root as is found in the name of the Patriarch Isaak. And now for the triumph. Even in the document in which the masons have been so cramped for room, instead of writing *Se-khuk-u*, they have written *Se-khuk-hu*, the same final form as *a-gann-hu*. Three explanations may be offered for the appearance of "*hu*" final for the imperative plural instead of "*u*" final. Either it is an archaism, in which case the stone containing it may be older than the others, or it may be carelessness in the masons, or the symbol for the "*u*" carries a breathing with it. It is quite within the normal order of things that in such an investigation difficulties of this kind should appear, and until more material is to hand, I do not of course suppose I shall be able to force conviction. To have found already the formative symbols for causation, and the imperative plural second person in the first two words, together with the roots for to sing and to play, is good progress. Having then probably before us the words "start ye the song, play ye," we have to see whether

the third word will fit into its place. Some such word as "harmonies" would be very suitable. The word should be an accusative case after the verb play ye. A Chaldee word, if we can fairly find it, would be far more suitable than a Hebrew one, because the causative symbol we have already found is only causative in Chaldee, not in Hebrew. Casting, then, our eyes upon the third word we recognize a letter concerning which we have already in the first word made our hypothesis, that it is "*n*." We see, in fact, a probable "*n*" twice given with a new letter between. Memory at once recalls to us the heading to the psalms of David giving us at once a clue to a word most suitable, both in meaning and form, viz., the word "Neginah." Neginah is, however, Hebrew, and it must be understood that the word in the plate does not read as Neginah, but as Neginvati, which includes the possessive pronoun "*i*," and would mean in Chaldee "my harmonies." For the sense then nothing could be more appropriate, "start ye the song, play ye my harmonies."

The importance of understanding the foundation on which I am resting my transliterations is such that I will stop a little to build up the material I have been using in a somewhat different shape.

It does not admit of any doubt at all that in languages akin to Hebrew there are three words, viz., "ganah" to sing, "sakhak" to play, and "nagan" to strike or play an instrument. There is also (in Chaldee) a way of expressing causation, also of expressing command (imperative), also of expressing plural command, also of expressing possession. Now, so far as I have as yet gone I have made twelve hypotheses. Let it be supposed (I have said) that the first letter is, by hypothesis, an "*a*," the second an "*ain*, the third an "*u*," the fourth another "*u*," and so on. Is not the probability, thousands to one against the twelve hypotheses having produced three words expressive of music? Is it not thousands to one against their expressing causation, command, &c.? True it is that, instead of Newton's one hypothesis about the fall of the apple, there are twelve,—about twelve letters; but then, instead of Newton's one result about the motion of the moon there are many results, such as the meaning of three kindred musical words, and the expression of causation, command, possession, &c. I can very well anticipate that many verbal and other mistakes may be pointed out in what I have done, but nothing, surely, can be said against my method, nor its main results. As an instance of this I may mention here that an objection may be made as to the position of the "*i*" both in the word *neginvati* and in a similar word to come, viz., *nesuhati*. In both cases this small letter may have been packed into a corner by the masons for their own convenience. Certain it is that the Egyptians at any rate were very careless when engraving well known words.

The probability that the first three words are the record of an order for a musical service may be differently estimated by different people. For myself I feel so confident that I look about me at once to see what I think the next words would probably be, so as to keep in connection with the first three. A musical service being ordered, then it is natural to suppose that the purpose or object for which it is ordered would now be

mentioned. If so, the word required here is "*al*" or "*el*," "for the purpose of," or "with the object of." Then, after the symbol marked "*l*" in the plate we want some such word as "rapa" to heal. We want it also to be future; and we have to remember that one of the signs of the future is very peculiar, viz., that an additional letter "*n*" called the epenthetic nun should be inserted between the verb and the pronominal suffix. It is astonishing what a number of peculiarities are required in this sixth word. The cause or agent here is the music, and the effect is the induced power of cure in the sacred college. The conjugation is again in aphel, expressive of causation in Chaldee. The first part of the verb is "irpinn," and if the word were in Hebrew, it would be in the Hophal form of "tarpan." The musical agent is feminine, as *irpin* is, and the expected cure is in the future tense.

The six words now analysed form a sentence. The offerent, who is willing to incur the expense of manufacturing and building in this stone, requests therein the authorities to perform a musical service. The services are called *his* services (viz., the offerent's services or harmonies), as being paid for by him, and inherent in these services the ritualistic offerent recognises the power of cure. But whether this work of cure was on body or soul I know not, as the word *rapa* is used in either sense.

A new sentence now begins with a word which ends with *t-k*. In other words it ends with a feminine suffix second person. Consequently we are not left to hypothesis in saying that the word contains seven letters, concerning three of which we have already made hypotheses, so that we may still make four. I have therefore marked in the plate four letters, *a*, *k*, *u*, and *r*. The word would therefore be *asakura-t-k*, "Thy fee is." The root *sakar*, from which the name of the Patriarch Issachar is derived, means to bargain. It may be said that it is not fair to put *asakar* and *sakar* as the same root, but the practice of putting in an aleph before a word beginning with a sibilant is not uncommon in dialects akin to Chaldee. Thus we have *asman* equals *zeman* for time; *sabta* for *ashbata sabbath*, and so on. It may be said also that the introduction of the "*t*" before the final letter *k* proves the noun to be a feminine, whereas it is masculine; but the noun is a participial one which lends itself easily to the formation of a feminine form.

Nasuhati Sahidi-Jah, "the gift of me Sahidi-Jah," compare Daniel vii, 15, "The spirit of me Daniel." In these two words there are thirteen letters, but eleven of them have already been made available in the previous hypotheses. Let the reader pause here a little to consider what is implied by such a statement. Newton proved gravity by one hypothesis, one calculation, and one correct result. Here I prove these two words to be Chaldee by two hypotheses, thirteen calculations, and thirteen correct results. The two hypotheses are that a certain two letters are "*s*" and "*h*." The calculations are the putting thirteen letters into their places, and the results are found by looking into the Chaldee Lexicon, wherein we read "the gift of me Sahidi-Jah." The fact that the word Sahidi-Jah has a meaning of its own, one which can now be read

quite independently of any context, is a large addition to our wealth of proof. Sahid means witness, Sahidi means my witness, and Sahidi-Jah means Jah is my witness.

As I admitted early in this paper that I was not yet in the region of strong probabilities, so now I claim that by accumulative heaps of correct results any further proofs are quite unnecessary. In the whole of the rest of the plate there are but two unknown letters to be found, and any one who has followed me so far will I hope be satisfied that the ending is the product of the beginning. It is not necessary to analyze word for word so easy a sentence as "Minneh Hilulat l Bahalahi di Iḫan," the meaning of which is "from whence come praises to his Gods of Iḫan."

DUNBAR I. HEATH.

Esher, Surrey.

NOTE.

On reaching Kades in May 1879, we were disgusted to find that the marble sarcophagi and the Temple ruins, were being broken up and demolished, to fill the yawning trenches that the Fellahin navvies had dug for the foundations of a *Sugar Factory*.

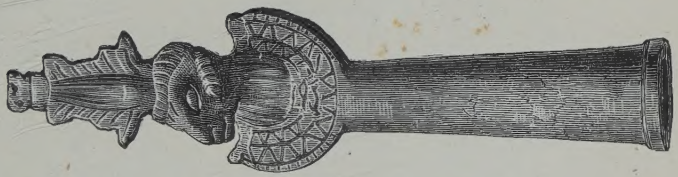
It appeared that a Damascus merchant was speculating in sugar, so the Fellahin said: in cotton, so the Dragoman affirmed; had bought the village, and, wishing to run up buildings cheaply, was going to utilise such marble as he found in the ruins near. We bargained with backsheesh, that at any rate the as yet unbroken sarcophagi should be buried in the trench as they were, and then enquired for antiqua.

Fifteen feet below the ground had that day been dug up a silver coin so bright and fresh it might have but just left the mint. "Of Tyre—Tyre, the holy and unsullied one"—so ran the motto. Bearing on one side the Roman Eagle, the Roman Prefect's initials, and the date corresponding to 46 B.C., and on the other, the powerful, though rather heavy face of the Sidonian Hercules Melkarth.* In the evening, a Mograbi builder, from the Moorish colony we had passed some four miles to the south, near Hazor, came to the tent, and said he knew of a god, that had been found in the same cotton and sugar factory foundation trench a few days before, but it was very small, and at the village four miles away. I told him to bring it early next morning, and at 4 A.M. he was squatting in the dusk and cold, hugging his god and waiting our

* The coin is figured--and disfigured--in the illustrated edition of Farrar's "Life of Christ," p. 366.

bargaining. The bargaining might have been for the whole village, factory, temple and all, so vehement were the protestations of the worth of the god in question. All the villagers and masons joined in, words waxed high, and terms could not be come to. We said we could not do business that day, packed up and slowly rode off, looking as if we were not at all interested in the little bronze we were leaving. But the season was late; there would be no more travellers this year, and the Moor could not let this chance of a windfall pass.

As we rode away, cries were raised, and all the village ran after us to lay the curio at the Khawâja's feet, and humbly take whatever was offered. So for a few francs this little Egyptian ram-headed, Pshent-capped, Sceptre head, or Staff head was brought from Kadesh. How it



was brought there is a problem; was it in battle, or in royal progress, in peace or in war? Whether it ever did service in the Temple, or at Court, whether it is bronze, or, as is more probable, a mixture of bronze and gold, the Chrysocalcon, that was in old time the king of metals, is unascertained. All that is known about it, is that as far as the British Museum collection of Egyptian bronzes goes it is pronounced unique.

H. D. Rawnsley.